Connected Discourses in Gandhāra
A Study, Edition, and Translation of Four Saṃyuktāgama-Type Sūtras from the Senior Collection

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Abstract

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This study investigates the relationships between the newly discovered Saṃyuktāgama-type sūtras preserved in the Senior Collection and the other extant versions of the Saṃyuktāgama/Saṃyutta-nikāya, principally those in Pāli and Chinese. This has been done in two ways. First, through a broad examination of the arrangement of the available texts preserved in their various collections (chapter 1), and second, through a detailed comparison of the contents of four sūtras preserved together on scroll 5 with their Pāli, Chinese and Tibetan parallels (chapter 2). The first of the four sūtras I have called the "Ṣaña-sutra," based on its contents, namely, a description of four visualization exercises, termed 'perceptions' (Gāndhārī ṣaña). While the subject matter of this sūtra is familiar, the descriptions of all but the first perception are new. As such, only partial parallels have been identified in Pāli and Tibetan. The remaining sūtras have close parallels Pāli and Chinese. There is also a quotation parallel to the second sūtra in Tibetan. The rest of this dissertation comprises a study of these four sūtras in yet greater detail following the established practice of other recent studies of Gāndhārī manuscripts (GBT 1–3), and includes: a physical description of the manuscript (chapter 3), paleography and orthography (chapter 4), phonology (chapter 5), morphology (chapter 6), transcribed text, reconstruction, and translation (chapter 7), and a detailed edition of each sūtra together with parallel versions and detailed comments (chapters 8–11). Appendices provide editions and translations of the parallel texts in Pāli, Chinese and Tibetan. There is also a complete word index to the Gāndhārī text.

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For complete citations to text editions, see References. For Pāli texts, see Bechert 1990.

abl.	ablative
abs.	absolutive
acc.	accusative
AKU	Śamathadeva, Abhidharmakośaṭīkopāyikanāma (ed. Derge 4094, *mngon pa, ju* 21b5–22a6), also called the Upāyikaṭīkā
AKV	Abhidharmakośavyākhyā (ed. Wogihara 1932–6)
Amg.	Ardhamāgadhī
AN	Aṅguttara-nikāya
AVin	Arthaviniścaya-sūtra (ed. Samtani 1971)
B	New Běijīng printed edition of the Tanjur, *bsTan ’gyur (dpe bsdur ma)*, 87 vols. (Běijīng, 1994–)
BBS	Ernst Waldschmidt, *Bruchstücke buddhistischer Sūtras aus dem zentralasiatischen Sanskritkanon* (Leipzig, 1932)
BCSD	Hirakawa Akira, *Buddhist Chinese-Sanskrit Dictionary* (Tōkyō, 1997)
Be	Burmese (Chaṭṭhasaṅgāyana) edition(s) of Pāli texts
BGT	Zhāng Yísūn, *Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo/Zàng hàn dà cídiǎn* 藏漢大辭典 (Běijīng, 1985)
BhP	Bhāvaprakāśa (ed. Srikantha Murthy 1998)
BHS	Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit
BHSD	Franklin Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary* (New Haven, 1953)
BHSG	Franklin Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar* (New Haven, 1953)
BL	British Library
BL16+25	Gāndhārī Previous-Birth Stories (ed. Lenz 2003)
bv.	bahuvrīhi compound
BWDJT	Unrai Wogihara, *Bonwa Daijiten* 梵和大辭典 (Tōkyō, 1979)
card.	cardinal number
CBETA	Chinese Buddhist Electronic Text Association CD-Rom = Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō, vols. 1–55 & 85 (Taipei, 1998–2004)
CDIAL	R. L. Turner, *A Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages* (London, 1966)
Ce	Sri Lankan edition(s) of Pāli texts

ch.	chapter
CKI	Corpus of Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions (Seattle, 2004–) ⟨http://depts.washington.edu/ebmp/inscriptions.php⟩
col.	column
comm./comms.	commentary, commentaries
CPD	Trenckner et al., *A Critical Pāli Dictionary,* 2 vols. to date (Copenhagen, 1924–)
D	Derge Kanjur and Tanjur, Tibetan Buddhist Resource Center CD-ROM edition (New York, 2003)
DĀ	Dīrghāgama
Das	Chandra Das, *Tibetan-English Dictionary* (Calcutta, 1902).
DbSū(1)	Daśabala-sūtra 1 (ed. Waldschmidt 1932: 207–25)
DDB	Charles Muller, *Digital Dictionary of Buddhism* (Edition of 2005/3/9) ⟨http://www.acmuller.net/ddb⟩
dem. pron.	demonstrative pronoun
Dhp	Dhammapada (ed. von Hinüber and Norman 1994)
Dhp-G^K	Gāndhārī Dharmapada (Khotan; = Gāndhārī Dharmapada, ed. Brough 1962; formerly referred to as KDhp in Salomon 1999, 2000)
Dhp-G^L	Gāndhārī Dharmapada (London; ed. Lenz 2003)
Dhsk	Dharmaskandha (ed. Dietz 1984)
Divy	Divyāvadāna (ed. Cowell and Neil 1886)
DN	Dīgha-nikāya
DP	Margaret Cone, *A Dictionary of Pāli,* 1 vol. to date (Oxford, 2001–)
du.	dual
dv.	dvandva compound
EĀ-G	Gāndhārī Ekottarikāgama (ed. Allon 2001)
E^e	European (Pali Text Society) edition(s) of Pāli texts
ETED	Tudeng Nima, Gyurme Dorje, and Tadeusz Skorupski, *An Encyclopaedic Tibetan-English Dictionary* (Běijīng/London, 2001–)
F	Fángshān edition of the Chinese Canon, *Fángshān shí jīng* 房山石經, 30 vols. (Běijīng, 2000)
f.	feminine
FG	Fóguāng edition of the Chinese Āgamas, *Āhán zàng* 阿含藏, 4 vols. (Gāoxióng, 1983)
frag.	fragment
fut.	future
G	Gāndhārī
GBT 1	A Gāndhārī Version of the Rhinoceros Sūtra (ed. Salomon 2000)

GBT 2	Three Gāndhārī Ekottarikāgama-Type Sūtras (ed. Allon 2001)
GBT 3	A New Version of the Gāndhārī Dharmapada and a Collection of Previous-Birth Stories (ed. Lenz 2003)
GDP	The Gāndhārī Dictionary Project (Seattle, 2003–) ⟨http://depts.washington.edu/ebmp/dictionary.php⟩
Hema	Hemacandra, Śabdānuśāsana (ed. Vaidya 1958)
HI	Hirayama Ikuo Collection
HYDCD	Luó Zhúfēng, *Hànyǔ Dà Cídiǎn* 漢語大詞典, 12 vols. (Shànghǎi, 1994)
instr.	instrumental
interr. pron.	interrogative pronoun
impv.	imperative
Jä	H. A. Jäschke, *A Tibetan-English Dictionary* (London, 1881)
K	Korean edition of the Chinese Canon, *Koryǒ taejanggyǒng* 高麗大藏經, 48 vols. (Seoul, 1957–76)
kdh.	karmadhāraya compound
Kh^e	Khmer edition(s) of Pāli texts
Khp	Khuddakapāṭha
Khvs-G	Gāndhārī *Khargaviṣaṇa-sutra (ed. Salomon 2000)
L	Śel dkar (London) Manuscript Kanjur (Or. 6724)
LC	Lokesh Chandra, *Tibetan-Sanskrit Dictionary* (New Delhi, 1959–61)
l./ll.	line(s)
m.	masculine
MĀ	Madhyamāgama
MaitrU	Maitrāyaṇīya-Upaniṣad (ed. van Buitenen 1962)
MBh	Mahābhārata (Critical Edition; Poona, 1927-66)
MCED	R. H. Mathews, *Mathews' Chinese-English Dictionary* (Cambridge MA, 1943)
MIA	Middle Indo-Aryan
Mil	Milindapañha
MN	Majjhima-nikāya
Mp	Manorathapūraṇī, Aṅguttaranikāya-aṭṭakathā
MS	Martin Schøyen Collection
MSV	Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya (ed. Dutt 1984b)
Mvy	Mahāvyutpatti (ed. Sakaki 1926)
MW	Monier Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary* (Oxford, 1899)
N	Narthang Kanjur and Tanjur
n.	neuter
ND	Niya documents (Boyer, Rapson, Senart and Noble 1920–9)

N^e	Nālandā edition of Pāli texts
Nett	Nettipakaraṇa
NIA	New Indo-Aryan
Nidd I	Mahāniddesa
NidSa	Nidāna-saṃyukta (ed. Tripāṭhī 1962)
Nir	Niruttidīpanīpāṭha
obv.	obverse
OED	*The Oxford English Dictionary* (Online Edition) ⟨http://dictionary.oed.com/⟩
OIA	Old Indo-Aryan
P	Pāli
p./pp.	page(s)
pass.	passive
Paṭis	Paṭisambhidāmagga
Peṭ	Peṭakopadesa
pl.	plural
PoV	Poṣadhavastu (ed. Hu-von Hinüber 1994)
pp.	past participle
pres.	present
pres. part.	present participle
pret.	preterite
PTSD	T. W. Rhys Davids and William Stede, *The Pali Text Society's Pali-English Dictionary* (London, 1921–5)
PW	Otto Böhtlingk and Rudolph Roth, *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch,* 7 vols. (St. Petersburg, 1855–75)
Q	Peking edition of the Kanjur and Tanjur, Otani reprint.
r	recto
RE	Rock Edict
rel. pron.	relative pronoun.
resp.	respectively
rev.	reverse
RS	Robert Senior Collection
S	Stog Palace Kanjur
s.s.	search string
SĀ	Saṃyuktāgama
SĀ(Ā)	Ān Shìgāo's Chinese translation of the Saṃyuktāgama, *Zá āhán jīng* 雜阿含經 (T 2 no. 101)
SĀ(LVP)	Saṃyuktāgama (ed. La Vallée Poussin 1913)

SĀ(G)	Guṇabhadra's Chinese translation of the Saṃyuktāgama, *Zá āhán jīng* 雜阿含經 (T 2 no. 99)
SĀ(U)	Chinese translation of the Saṃyuktāgama by an unknown translator, *Zá āhán jīng* 雜阿含經 (T 2 no. 99)
Saṅg-G	Gāndhārī Saṅgīti-sūtra and commentary (BL Fragment 15)
ŚBh	Śrāvakabhūmi
ŚBh(S)	Śrāvakabhūmi (ed. Shukla 1973)
Sᵉ	Thai (King of Siam) edition(s) of Pāli texts
sg.	singular
SHT	*Sanskrithandschriften aus den Turfanfunden,* 9 vols. to date (Göttingen, 1965–)
Śikṣ	Śikṣāsamuccaya (ed. Bendall 1897–1902)
Skt.	Sanskrit
SN	Saṃyutta-nikāya
SP	Saddharmapuṇḍarīka (ed. Kern and Nanjio 1908–12)
Spk	Sāratthapakāsinī, Saṃyuttanikāya-aṭṭhakathā
Spk-pṭ	Sāratthapakāsinī-purānaṭīkā, Līnatthapakāsinī III
SRS(D)	Samādhirāja-sūtra (ed. Dutt 1984a)
SRS(RV/LC)	Facsimile edition of the Gilgit Samādhirāja-sūtra (Raghu Vira and Lokesh Chandra 1974)
ŚSPP(G)	Śatasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā (ed. Ghoṣa 1902–13)
SuS	Suśrutasaṃhitā (ed. Srikantha Murthy 2000–2)
Sv	Sumaṅgalavilāsinī, Dīghanikāya-aṭṭhakathā
T	Takakusu J. and Watanabe K., eds., *Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō* 大正新脩大藏經, 100 vols. (Tokyo, 1924–34)
tp.	tatpuruṣa compound
Uv	Udānavarga (ed. Bernhard 1965–8)
Uvās	Uvāsagadasāo (ed. Hoernle, 1890)
v	verso
v./vv.	verse(s)
Vism	Visuddhimagga (ed. Rhys Davids 1920–1)
VRI	Vipassana Research Institute
VRI-CD	Vipassana Research Institute CD-Rom (Chaṭṭha Saṅgāyana CD-ROM from Dhammagiri, Version 3.0 [Igatpuri: Vipassana Research Institute, 1999])
VRIᵉ	Vipassana Research Institute Devanāgarī edition (Igatpuri: Vipassana Research Institute, 1999)
YBh	Yogācārabhūmiśāstra (T 30 no. 1579; Derge 4035)

Z	Běijīng edition of the Chinese Canon, *Zhōnghuá Dàzàngjīng* 中華大藏經, 106 vols. (Běijīng, 1984–96)
元	The 'Yuán Edition' of the Chinese Canon (1290)
宋	The 'Sòng Edition' of the Chinese Canon (1239)
明	The 'Míng Edition' of the Chinese Canon (1601)
聖	The Tempyō Mss. and the Chinese Mss. of the Súi and Táng dynasties belonging to the Imperial Treasure House Shōsō-in at Nara

LIST OF FIGURES

All bibliographic citations are by author's name and date except dictionaries and editions of primary texts, which are cited with the abbreviations given in the list of abbreviations. For full bibliographic citations, refer to the list of references at the end of this work.

The conventions of transcription, the citation system, and the abbreviations are based on those adopted in GBT 2 (Allon 2001) with a few modifications. The following symbols are used in the transcriptions of the texts edited in this volume:

[ ]   An unclear or partially preserved akṣara (graphic syllable) whose reading is uncertain.

(*)   A lost or illegible akṣara that has been conjecturally restored on the basis of context, parallel citation, or other means.

⟨* ⟩   An akṣara that has been omitted by the scribe and conjecturally restored.

⟨˙ ⟩   Erroneous text in the manuscript which should be cancelled.

.   A missing portion (consonantal or diacritic vowel sign) of a partially legible akṣara. For example, *.e* represents an akṣara in which the vowel diacritic *e* is visible, but the consonant to which it was attached is lost or illegible; *g.* signifies that the consonant *g* is legible but incomplete so that one cannot determine whether or not a vowel diacritic was attached to the syllable.

?   An illegible but visible or partially visible akṣara.

+   A missing akṣara that would have appeared on a lost or obscured portion of the scroll. A series of these symbols indicates the approximate number of lost syllables, one + sign being equivalent to one akṣara.

///   Beginning or end of an incomplete line.

·   A small dot used in the original text to indicate word, sentence, verse, half verse, or other minor unit divisions.

◦   A small circle used in the original text to indicate word, sentence, verse, half verse, or other minor unit divisions.

○   A single large or medium-sized circle, a design composed of circles, or other large circular or square design used in the original text to indicate the conclusion of a verse or section.

◊   A space left blank in the original text.

=   A word break within an akṣara: used in phrases such as *imam=eva,* in which the final consonant of the preceding word and the initial vowel of the following word are written together as a single syllable (*mi*).

–   Metrically long syllable.

˘   Metrically short syllable.

≍   Metrically long or short syllable.

DEDICATION

For my family

INTRODUCTION

This study investigates the relationships between the newly discovered Saṃyuktāgama-type sūtras preserved in the Senior Collection and the other extant versions of the Connected Discourses (Saṃyuktāgama/Saṃyutta-nikāya)[1], principally those in Pāli and Chinese. This has been done in two ways: first, through a broad examination of the arrangement of the available texts preserved in their various collections (chapter 1), and second, through a detailed comparison of the contents of four sūtras preserved together on scroll 5 with their Pāli, Chinese and Tibetan parallels (chapter 2). The remaining chapters of this dissertation study these four sūtras in yet greater detail, following the established practice of other recent studies of Gāndhārī manuscripts (GBT 1–3). It is hoped that the results of this study, though necessarily somewhat limited in their scope, will nonetheless tell us something about the history and development of this important corpus of the Buddha's teaching.

The Connected Discourses

Buddhist literature is vast, perhaps more so than any other sacred literature. Within this multitude, different genres, texts, and collections, have flourished at different times in the many different lands to which Buddhism traveled. One such collection, the Connected Discourses, though perhaps not among the most famous texts of Buddhism today, was once a very important, if not the most important collection of the Buddha's teachings, as it preserves, according to the Taiwanese scholar-monk Yìn Shùn, "the most fundamental teachings of the Buddha" (Choong 2000: 11). Justification for this claim comes from that fact that it is a rich source of early Buddhist doctrine in which thousands of individual sūtras have been connected, literally "yoked together" (*saṃyukta*), by doctrinal categories. More so than the Long Discourses (Dīrghāgama/Dīgha-nikāya) and Middle Length Discourses (Madhyamāgama/

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[1] In the following study I use the English rendering "Connected Discourses" to refer to this collection in the abstract. This is done to avoid using either the Pāli or Sanskrit terms at the expense of the other, or worse, by burdening the reader with a double title Saṃyuktāgama/Saṃyutta-nikāya. Where I use specific terms, Saṃyuktāgama refers to the collection connected with the Northern tradition and now extant only in Chinese while Saṃyutta-nikāya refers to the Pāli recension.

Majjhima-nikāya), the Connected Discourses is intensely practical. The teachings it contains are, for the most part, instructions for meditation and the path to salvation.

One of the most practical and often used ways one can judge the significance of a text in former times is by the number of copies of that text which have been discovered. However, in the case of the Connected Discourses, the antiquity of its role largely predates the manuscript tradition, so that scholars interested in this text have had to look a little deeper for the evidence. It is therefore fortuitous that some very early fragments of the Connected Discourses have recently come to light, dating from a time near to the beginning of the manuscript tradition in Gandhāra. These fragments come from an anthology of texts written in the Gāndhārī language and the Kharoṣṭhī script, known as the Senior Collection. While the text fragments which make up this collection are not themselves a complete Saṃyuktāgama or even the remnants of one, they are, nevertheless, the oldest witnesses to the Connected Discourses, and contribute much to our understanding of the structure and transmission of this collection.

The Senior Collection

The Senior Collection is a private collection based in the United Kingdom, named after its current owner Robert Senior. It consists of twenty-four scroll fragments on birch bark. They are similar in many respects to the British Library Kharoṣṭhī Fragments which have been described in detail by Richard Salomon in his *Ancient Buddhist Scrolls from Gandhāra* (1999). Like them, the provenance of the Senior Kharoṣṭhī fragments is unknown, but is also likely to be somewhere in the region of Haḍḍa in modern Eastern Afghanistan. These fragments can be dated to about 140 A.D. on the combined evidence of the dated inscription on the pot in which they were found (CKI 245), and radiocarbon tests of bark samples from the collection (see Allon et al. forthcoming). As such, they may be up to 100 years younger than the British Library manuscripts (Salomon 2003: 77–8), but still among the earliest Buddhist manuscripts now known.

The twenty-four scrolls that make up the Senior Collection contain 41 texts of varying lengths and degrees of completeness. They are all the work of a single scribe who appears to

have been commissioned to produce the manuscripts (Salomon 2003: 82–3). The Pāli and Chinese parallels to the identified texts are found in different texts and divisions of their respective canons. Most of these parallels occur in the Connected Discourses (Pāli Saṃyutta-nikāya/Chinese Zá āhán jīng 雜阿含經, T no. 99) with twenty-one direct parallels and three uncertain ones.

Two of the scrolls in the collection (RS 7 and RS 8) contain brief quotations from many of the other texts in the Senior Collection, thus they seem to have served as an inventory, or perhaps a sort of contents list or outline for the anthology. While the study of these two scrolls, and the collection as a whole is ongoing, their precise function may not yet be determined with certainty, but some of the evidence put forward in Chapter 1 of this study may help to solve this problem.

A catalog and overview of the Senior Collection is currently being prepared by Mark Allon (in progress). Thus general issues concerning the collection as a whole will not be treated here. The present study is rather concerned with just one manuscript from this collection, Senior Kharoṣṭhī Fragment 5, which contains four of the twenty-four texts associated with the Connected Discourses. However, in order to clarify the context for this group of Saṃyuktāgama-type sūtras, connections between the extant versions of the Connected Discourses and the sūtras found in this Gāndhārī collection will be investigated in detail.

The Contents of Senior Kharoṣṭhī Scroll 5

Scroll 5 from the Senior Collection is a manuscript in scroll format. The text comprises 42 lines, 21 on each side, and four sūtras, with two on each side. Both the left and right margins of the scroll are largely intact, but a vertical strip from the center of the scrolls is missing due to deterioration where the rolled manuscript was folded in half (see Lenz 2003: 3–4). Only 13% of the total text has been lost, making this one of the best preserved Kharoṣṭhī manuscripts. Richard Salomon initially identified three of the sūtras on this scroll (sutras 2–4) with parallels in the Saṃyutta-nikāya, as well as their counterparts in the Chinese, Zá āhán jīng (Salomon 2003: 79).

Sūtra 1, is referred to here as the Ṣaña-sutra[2]. No direct parallels to this sūtra have been identified in Pāli or Chinese. However, the content of the sūtra does correspond in part with other sūtras from the collections of Connected and Numerical Discourses (Ekottarikāgama/ Aṅguttara-nikāya), so that, we have partial parallels in Pāli, Sanskrit, Tibetan and Chinese. This sūtra gives descriptions of four meditative practices but does not mention the five aggregates (*skandha*) which connect the other three sūtras on the manuscript. It is likely to be complete (see § 8.1.1).

Sūtra 2, the Natuspahu-sutra, has direct parallels in Pāli and Chinese as well as a partial parallel in Tibetan.[3] It preserves a teaching on the five aggregates, recommending that one not think of them as one's own, whence the title 'Not Yours' (G *natuspahu*). To judge by the Pāli parallel[4], it is complete.

Sūtra 3, the Nivriḍabahulo-sutra, also has parallels in Pāli and Chinese. It instructs the adherent to view the five aggregates (*skandha*) with disgust. By such practice one is said to gain understanding of the aggregates, and in turn, be released from the cycle of birth, aging, sickness and death. This sūtra is also complete.

Sūtra 4, the last sūtra on the manuscript, is referred to as the *Vasijaḍa-sūtra. Again, there are direct parallels in Pāli and Chinese. This sūtra teaches that liberation depends on both the recognition of the five aggregates as impermanent, and on the maturation of factors which contribute to enlightenment (*bodhipakṣyadharma*). The Gāndhārī version ends in the middle of the first of three similes found in the parallel versions, in which the practitioner is compared to a hen whose eggs will not hatch unless they are properly incubated. The presumed continuation of the text on a separate manuscript has not been found among the other fragments of the Senior Collection, if it ever even existed.

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[2] No sutra titles are given in the Gāndhārī manuscript. For the sake of convenience I have provided hypothetical Gāndhārī titles on the basis of the titles used for Pali parallels in the modern printed editions. In the case of the first sutra, where no direct parallel has been identified, I have provided a title based on a key term from the text.

[3] Complete details of the additional parallels are given in Chapter 8 of the present work.

[4] The Chinese parallel is considerably longer than the Pāli and Gāndhārī versions (§ 9.1.2).

CHAPTER 1
The Arrangements of the Connected Discourses

1.1. The Saṃyuktāgama and the Saṃyutta-nikāya

Traditional accounts from the Pāli commentaries would have us believe that the present state of the canon was more or less established at the rehearsal of the Buddha's teaching, the so-called First Council, which took place at Rājagṛha soon after the parinirvāṇa.[1] These and other accounts from the various vinaya traditions imply, if they do not make explicit, that the Connected Discourses was recited at the first council, and that it has come down to us without undue interference.[2] There are of course problems with assigning such antiquity to the text as we know it, not least because there are multiple different recensions which show that this collection must have developed separately after the schisms which fractured the Buddhist community and its literature.

Both the northern and southern branches of Buddhism have preserved versions of the Connected Discourses, that is, sets of the Buddha's teachings characterized by arranging sūtras connected (*samyukta*[3]) by topic, namely, the Saṃyuktāgama, now extant mainly in Chinese; and the Saṃyutta-nikāya preserved in Pāli. In addition we have other sūtras in sets,

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[1] The controversies surrounding the councils are many, and have been very productive in terms of scholarly output. I don't wish to revisit the arguments here, as they have been discussed elsewhere far more ably than I could do, see Przyluski 1926, Renou and Filliozat 1953: 493–7, Bareau 1955, Prebish 1974, and Lamotte 1987: 124–40.

[2] Some of the accounts of the first council in Vinayas and other texts mention the Connected Discourses by name (Mahīśāsaka-vinaya T no. 1421; Mahāsaṅghika-vinaya T no. 1425; Dharmaguptaka-vinaya T no. 1428; Pínímǔ jīng 毘尼母經 T no. 1463; Mahāprajñāpāramitā-śāstra T no. 1509; Fēnbié gōngdé lùn 分別功德論 T no. 1507; Zhuàn jí sān zàng jí zá zàng chuán 撰集三藏及雜藏傳 T no. 2026), while others refer to it indirectly as one of the four or five great collections (*āgama*) of the Sūtra-piṭaka (Aśokarājāvadāna T no. 2042; Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra T no. 5). See Przyluski 1926: 44, 70, 81, 107, 119, 147, 178, 194, 211.

[3] In this chapter I use Sanskrit for technical terms in general, as well as those referring to the Saṃyuktāgama, since the source language of the available version of this text (T no. 99) is believed to have been Sanskrit (Enomoto 2001). Technical terms relating to the Saṃyutta-nikāya are in Pāli, i.e., the language of this text. Chinese and Tibetan terms have also been supplied where appropriate.

individually, or as fragments, belonging to the Saṃyuktāgama class, in Sanskrit, Gāndhārī, and Tibetan. The difference in the terms for these collections, *āgama* (BHSD: 'traditional' or 'canonical text') and *nikāya* (PTSD: 'collection'), simply reflects the different terminology used by the schools after they diverged. Since the term *nikāya* is peculiar to the Theravādins,[4] whereas other schools used the designation *āgama,* and the Gāndhārī version is most likely to be associated with the Dharmaguptakas (see § 1.2.5.3), the term *āgama* is deemed more appropriate for the hypothetical Gāndhārī *Saṃyuta collection, although there is no explicit textual evidence from the tradition itself to confirm this (cf. Allon 2001).

While this shared principle of arrangement is likely to be very old,[5] important differences between the content and arrangement of the extant versions show that they followed separate developments. As a result, individual sūtras may be included in all or many versions of the text, or sometimes in just one version. To complicate things further, the same sūtras in one tradition may be included in the Connected Discourses, while in another, they may be located in one of the other āgamas, or even elsewhere. Therefore, our conception of what exactly constitutes this collection should remain somewhat fluid.

The recent discovery of the Senior Collection, with its twenty-four Saṃyuktāgama-type sūtras in Gāndhārī may therefore be considered to be the earliest direct documentary witness to the development of the Connected Discourses. As such, we have an opportunity to consider the early history of this sūtra compendium by triangulating data from the available versions.

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[4] The term *āgama* was known to Buddhaghosa who at times to referred to the Pāli *nikāyas* as *āgamas,* e.g., *tattha saṃyuttāgamo nāma* "In this connection, it is called '*Saṃyuttāgama*'" Spk I 2.22; see also Sv 2.10; Mp I 3.4; Norman 1983: 31.

[5] At least this should be earlier than the second council—"the collections had begun to be formed while the schools were still in contact, i.e. before the first schisms which started after the second council" (Norman 1983: 31).

1.2. Extant Versions

1.2.1. Pāli

The Saṃyutta-nikāya is the third book in the Pāli Sutta-piṭaka. This text is included in all the modern printed editions of the Tipiṭaka, all ultimately deriving from the same version of the Theravāda of the Mahāvihāra, called Tāmraśāṭīya. There are 2,889 suttas in the Pali Text Society version edited by Léon Feer (1898: viii) and 2,904 as counted by Bhikkhu Bodhi in his new translation (2000: 23). According to Buddhaghosa, there are "seven thousand suttas and seven hundred suttas, and sixty two suttas, this is the Saṃyutta collection"[6]. Since Buddhaghosa did not comment on any suttas "missing from the Saṃyutta we currently possess" (Bodhi 2000: 26), this far larger number must be the result of a theoretical full expansion of the existing text, which might be done by deriving new suttas on the model of others through the substitution of key terms.[7]

1.2.2. Chinese

There are two main translations of the Saṃyuktāgama preserved in Chinese. The most complete of these is the Zá āhán jīng 雜阿含經 in 50 fascicules (*juàn* 卷, T 2 no. 99), translated by Guṇabhadra (Qiúnàbátuóluó 求那跋陀羅, 394–468 A.D.) in 435 and 436 A.D.[8] Most scholars connect this version with the Sarvāstivādins although Enomoto maintains that it is rather Mūlasarvāstivādin.[9] This version has 1,359 sūtras.[10]

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[6] *Satta sutta-sahassāni satta sutta-satāni ca, dvāsaṭṭhi c'eva suttāni, eso saṃyutta-sangaho ti,* Spk I 2.25–6.

[7] A common feature of this collection is that multiple sūtras may differ only in the use of different key terms or phrases, see for example, the Ganges repetition series (*Gaṅgāpeyyāli*) SN V 290–1; Bodhi 2000: 1746–8.

[8] This dating is based on Enomoto's work (2001: 32). Other works date the translation more broadly to 435–43 A.D. The issue of the date and translation is discussed in greater detail below, see § 1.3.1.

[9] The majority opinion is voiced among others by Waldschmidt (1980b: 136) and Harrison (2003: 1). Ui and Akanuma thought that the Madhyamāgama (T no. 125) and the Saṃyuktāgama (T no. 99) belonged to different subsidiaries of the Sarvāstivādins, the former being from Gandhāra, and the latter from Kashmir (Mayeda 1985: 98). Lǚ and Enomoto regard T no. 99 as belonging to the Mūlasarvāstivādins (Lǚ 1961: 242; Enomoto 1984: 1070; 1986: 23).

The second translation is shorter, consisting of 20 fascicules.[11] This text is known either as Zá āhán jīng, or as Biéyì zá āhán jīng 別譯雜阿含經 (T 2 no. 100). This version has 364 sūtras representing just two major divisions of the full collection. It is probably an incomplete translation of a longer text rather than an anthology (Anesaki 1908: 3, 75). This text is the work of an unknown translator working in the north of China and may date to the period 350–430 A.D.[12] It has been connected variously with the Kāśyapīya, Mahīśāsaka, Dharmaguptaka, Sarvāstivāda, and Mūlasarvāstivāda schools.[13]

There is a third translation, also entitled Zá āhán jīng (T 2 no. 101), but this is rather an anthology consisting of just 25 sūtras in one fascicule.[14] This version is probably the work of Ān Shìgāo 安世高 (fl. 148–168 A.D.) and may also belong to the Sarvāstivādins, but, as Harrison points out (2003: 4, 19), this affiliation presents problems as the order and content do not closely parallel Taishō number 99. Based on the parallel versions these sūtras may have been selected from five sections of a more complete text (see below § 1.3). Two of the sūtras in this text are identical with sūtras in Ān Shìgāo's translation of the Ekottarikāgama

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[10] The printed version of the Taishō has 1,362 sūtras, however, three of these are interpolations of other texts and do not belong to the SĀ proper. The Fóguāng edition attempts to recreate the original order of the text and so does not include the interpolations. For further explanation, see § 1.3.2.

[11] The Taishō edition is arranged in 16 fascicules, however, this is thought to be a mistake resulting from the earlier confused state of this text, so that it should not be inferred from these numbers that four fascicules are missing. Nanjio's catalog records 20 fascicules, see Mizuno 1988: 11–2. In the reconstruction of T no. 99 (see below § 1.3.2), 18 fascicules correspond with T no. 100, Mukai 1985: 18.

[12] This approximate date is given by Anesaki (1908: 3), but this is not repeated by later scholars. Mayeda suggests only that it may be slightly earlier than T no. 99 (1985: 100).

[13] The Kāśyapīya affiliation has been voiced by Prof. Hōdō (法幢), a scholar of the Tokugawa Period (Mayeda 1985: 101) and more recently by Lamotte (1987: 154) and Yìn Shùn (Choong 2000: 7). A connection with either the Mahīśāsakas or the Dharmaguptakas is supported by Lǚ (1961: 242) and Mayeda (1985: 101). The Sarvāstivāda and/or Mūlasarvāstivāda identification is supported by Hiraoka (2000: 501), while Enomoto argues for the latter only (1986: 24–5).

[14] In fact, T 101 contains 27 sūtras, however, Harrison's reconstruction of Ān Shìgāo's text, based on Shì Dào'ān's (釋道安, 314–85 A.D.) catalog, shows that only 25 of these are original.

Table 1. Independent Saṃyuktāgama-Type Sūtras in the Taishō

T no.	Title	Parallels	Translator	Dates
102	Fó shuō wǔ yùn jiē kōng jīng 佛說五蘊皆空經	SĀ 33–4; SN 22.59 Pañca	Yìjìng 義淨	710
103	Fó shuō shèng fǎ yìn jīng 佛說聖法印經	SĀ 80	Dharmarakṣa	295
104	Fó shuō fǎ yìn jīng 佛說法印經		Dānapāla	1001
105	Wǔ yīn pì yù jīng 五陰譬喻經	SĀ 265; SN 22.95 Phena	unknown*	148–170
106	Fó shuō shuǐ mò suǒ piāo jīng 佛說水沫所漂經		Zhú Tánwúlán 竺曇無蘭	381–395
107	Fó shuō bù zì shǒu yì jīng 佛說不自守義經	SĀ 277; SN 35.97 Pamādavihārī	Zhīqiān 支謙	223–253
108	Fó shuō mǎn yuàn zǐ jīng 佛說滿願子經	SĀ 311; SN 35.88 Puṇṇa	unknown	317–420
109	Fó shuō zhuàn fǎ lún jīng 佛說轉法輪經	SĀ 379; SN 56.11–12 Dhammacakka-pavattana	unknown†	148–170
110	Fó shuō sān zhuàn fǎ lún jīng 佛說三轉法輪經		Yìjìng 義淨	710
111	Fó shuō xiàng yīng xiàng kě jīng 佛說相應相可經	SĀ 449–50; SN 14.12 Sanidāna	Fǎjù 法炬	290–307
112	Fó shuō bā zhèng dào jīng 佛說八正道經	SĀ 784–5; SN 45.21 Michatta	Ān Shìgāo 安世高	148–170
113	Fó shuō nàn tí shì jīng 佛說難提釋經	SĀ 857	Fǎjù 法炬	290–307
114	Fó shuō mǎ yǒu sān xiàng jīng 佛說馬有三相經	SĀ 920; AN III.94–6 Taya	Zhīyào 支曜	185
115	Fó shuō mǎ yǒu bā tài pì rén jīng 佛說馬有八態譬人經	SĀ 924; AN VII.14 Khaḷuṅka		
116	Fó shuō jiè dé xiāng jīng 佛說戒德香經	SĀ 1073; AN III.79 Gandha	Zhú Tánwúlán 竺曇無蘭	381–395
117	Fó shuō jiè xiāng jīng 佛說戒香經		Fǎxián 法賢	995–997
118	Fó shuō yāng jué mó jīng 佛說鴦崛摩經	SĀ 1077; MN 86, Aṅgulimāla	Dharmarakṣa	266–313
119	Fó shuō yāng jué jì jīng 佛說鴦崛髻經		Fǎjù 法炬	290–307
120	Yāng jué mó luó jīng 央掘魔羅經		Guṇabhadra	435–443
121	Fó shuō yuè yù jīng 佛說月喻經	SĀ 1136; SN 16.3 Candupama	Dānapāla	1008
122	Fó shuō bō sī nì wáng tài hòu bēng chén tǔ bèn shēn jīng 佛說波斯匿王太后崩塵土坌身經	SĀ 1227; SN 3.3.2 Ayyakā	Fǎjù 法炬	290–307
123	Fó shuō fàng niú jīng 佛說放牛經	SĀ 1248; MN 33 Mahāgopālaka	Kumārajīva	402–412
124	Yuán qǐ jīng 緣起經		Xuánzàng 玄奘	661

* Shì Dào'ān's attribution of T no. 105 to Ān Shìgāo is disputed by Zürcher (1991: 300).

† Also attributed to Ān Shìgāo by Shì Dào'ān, but according to Zürcher, the style is not his (1991: 300).

(T no. 150a), and these, together with a third one, may have been misplaced there from this collection (see Harrison 1997: 265, 276; 2003: 11, 19).

In addition to the above three translations the Taishō preserves a further twenty-four texts connected with the Saṃyuktāgama.[15] These are individual sūtras which are parallel to some extent with texts in T nos. 99 and 100. The main details for each of these are summarized in table 1. These translations attest to the continued significance of Saṃyuktāgama-type sūtras throughout the period of the Chinese translation effort.

An Indian commentary on the Saṃyuktāgama is preserved in Chinese and Tibetan, the Saṃyuktāgama-mātṛkā, though it is no longer extant in any Indian language. It constitutes the first and longest part of the Vastusaṃgrahaṇī, a chapter of the Yogācārabhūmi. Although this text is said to be the work of Asaṅga, it may rather be a compilation of material, perhaps edited by him.[16] The commentary survives in Xuánzàng's (玄奘 596–664 A.D.) Chinese translation, Yúqié shīdì lùn 瑜伽師地論 (T 30 no. 1579, pp. 772c–868b)[17], and in Tibetan (see below § 1.2.4).

1.2.3. Sanskrit

The complete text of the Saṃyuktāgama has not survived in Sanskrit. However, numerous fragments of it have been discovered. Most of these come from the discoveries of Sarvāstivāda manuscript remains by the four German Turfan expeditions. These include a set of twenty-five sūtras from the Nidāna-saṃyukta, and a set of six sūtras from the Parivrājaka-saṃyukta, both of which correspond very closely to the sequence found in Guṇabhadra's Chinese translation.[18] In addition, fragments of a further thirty-three sūtras

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[15] According to Anesaki, this number might be as much as doubled if one were to include those texts which are mentioned in the old catalogs but are no longer extant (1908: 4). Due to time restrictions I have not been able to check exactly how many of these might be connected with the SĀ.

[16] For a summary of the main opinions on this authorship of this text, see Kritzer 2005: xvii–xviii.

[17] This translation was done between July 3rd, 646 and June 11th, 648 A.D. at either Hóngfú monastery 弘福寺 (T 55 no. 2154 p. 556b7–8) or Dà Cí'ēn monastery 大慈恩寺 (T 55 no. 2153 p. 405b16–8).

[18] On the Nidāna-saṃyukta, see Tripāṭhī 1962. For the Parivrājaka-saṃyukta, see Hosoda 1989b, 1989c, 1991. Additional publications relating to the Sanskrit fragments from Central Asia include:

have been published in the *Sanskrithandschriften aus den Turfanfunden* series (SHT). There are about a dozen fragments of sūtras connected with the Saṃyuktāgama in the Schøyen Collection which probably come from Bamiyan.[19] According to Klaus Wille one of the fragments in the Schøyen Collection, belongs to a Saṃyuktāgama manuscript, which most probably came from Gilgit, and of which about fifteen fragments are preserved in a private collection in Virginia (Klaus Wille, private communication).

In addition to manuscript fragments, there are numerous quotations of the Saṃyuktāgama in other extant Sanskrit texts such as the Abhidharmakośabhāṣya and the Yogācārabhūmi (Enomoto 1994: xiii, Honjō 1984). For example, the second sūtra of Senior Scroll 5 is referred to in the Abhidharmakośabhāṣya, for details see § 9.1.2.

1.2.4. Tibetan

No translation of the Saṃyuktāgama has survived in Tibetan. It is possible that a translation was made during the first spread of Buddhism into Tibet (*snga dar,* 7th–9th centuries A.D.) but was lost or destroyed during the "dark age" during which Buddhist sources claim their institutions were persecuted (9th–10th century A.D.). In the period of the second spread (*phyi dar,* 10th–13th century and onwards) the translators almost completely ignored the āgama literature. The Mahāvyutpatti gives Tibetan equivalents for each of the four āgamas, rendering Saṃyuktāgama as *Yang dag par ldan pa'i lung* (Mvy 1424), but this alone does not prove the existence of a translation. Furthermore, this title is absent from a list of texts translated during the reign of king Khri srong lde btsan (730–97 A.D.), and held at the palace of Lhan kar, whereas the Ekottarikāgama (*gcig las 'phros pa'i lung*) is included in this list, though it is itself no longer extant (Lalou 1953: no. 274). Thus while the Saṃyuktāgama

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Bongard-Levin et al. 1996; Enomoto 1986, 1989, 1997, 2002; Hoernle 1916: 37–44; Hosoda 1989a; La Vallée Poussin 1907, 1913; Lévi 1904; Waldschmidt 1932, 1955, 1956, 1957a, 1957b, 1959, 1968: 23–6, 1970, 1980a, 1980b.

[19] The Saṃyuktāgama fragments in the Schøyen Collection have all been identified by Klaus Wille, though as of this writing, not all had been connected with specific sūtras. None of these have yet been published. On the provenance of the Schøyen fragments, see Braarvig 2000: xiii.

would seem to be an obvious candidate for translation, there appears to be no evidence to suggest that this was ever accomplished as a whole.

There are, however, several isolated sūtras preserved in the Kanjur which are parallel to sūtras in the available collections of Connected Discourses. The first four of these come from a group called the Paritta texts, a set of thirteen sūtras translated from Pāli at the beginning of the 14th century by the Sinhalese Ānandaśrī and a Tibetan Thar pa lotsawa Nyi ma rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po (Skilling 1993: 73). Two other Saṃyuktāgama-type texts come from a second group of sūtras called the Mahāsūtras.[20] These are attributed to the translation activity of Jinamitra, Prajñavarma and Yeshes sde who probably worked in the early 9th century. A further six sūtras are also preserved independently in Tibetan. Two of them are alternate versions of sūtras already found in the Paritta collection.

Saṃyuktāgama-type sūtras among the Paritta texts:

- Dharmacakrapravartana-sūtra/Chos kyi 'khor lo rab tu bskor ba'i mdo D 31, shes phyin, ka 180b1–183a6; SN V 420.25–424.11; T 2 no. 99 pp. 103c13–104a29; T 2 no. 109 p. 503b1–c23; T 2 no. 110 p. 504a1–b22.[21]
- Mahākāśyapa-sūtra/'Od srung chen po'i mdo D 40, shes phyin, ka 281b1–282a6; SN V 79.18–80.18.
- Sūrya-sūtra/Nyi ma'i mdo D 41, shes phyin, ka 282a6–b6; SN I 51.1–24.
- Candra-sūtra/Zla-ba'i mdo D 42, shes phyin, ka 282b6–283a5; SN I 50.15–35; T 2 no. 99 pp. 155a7–b4; T 2 no. 100 p. 436a5–b1.

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[20] A very careful study of this collection has been published by Peter Skilling in two volumes, Skilling 1995, 1998. Further volumes are planned or in progress. Additional parallels in SĀ(G) have been identified on the basis of Ui et al. 1934.

[21] Two additional versions of this text are preserved in Tibetan. The first is in the Vinaya (*'Dul ba*) of the Mūlasarvāstivādins, and the other is incorporated into the Abhiniṣkramaṇa-sūtra; see Skilling 1993: 104.

Saṃyuktāgama-type sūtras among the Mahāsūtras:

- Dhvajāgranāma-mahāsūtra/Mdo chen po rgyal mtshan mchog ces bya ba D 292, mdo sde, sha 262a1–265b4; SN I 219.31–220.16; T 2 no. 99 pp. 254c2–255a24.

- Dhvajāgranāma-mahāsūtra/Mdo chen po rgyal mtshan dam pa D 293, mdo sde, sha 265b4–267a7; SN I 218.25–222.6; T 2 no. 99 pp. 255a25–c16.

Other Saṃyuktāgama-type sūtras:

- Kumāradṛṣṭānta-sūtra/Gshon-nu dpe'i mdo D 296, mdo sde, sha 295b2–297a2; SN I 68.3–70.13; T 2 no. 99 pp. 334c13–335b8; T 2 no. 100 pp. 391c2–392a25.

- Kalyāṇamitrasevana-sūtra/Dge ba'i bshes gnyen bsten pa'i mdo D 300, mdo sde, sha 304b3–305a7; SN V 2.7–3.11; T 2 no. 99 p. 195b10–28.

- Catuḥsatya-sūtra/Bden pa bshi'i mdo D 316, mdo sde, sa 170a1–b4; SN V 431.15–432.14; T 2 no. 99 p. 108a4–b13.

- Alpadevatā-sūtra/Lha'i mdo nyung ngu D 330, mdo sde, sa 258b7–259b3; T 2 no. 99 p. 357b10–c14; T 2 no. 100 p. 475c10–476a22.

- Candra-sūtra/Zla ba'i mdo D 331, mdo sde, sa 259b3–260a4.[22]

- Dharmacakra-sūtra/Chos kyi 'khor lo'i mdo D 337, mdo sde, sa 275a6–277a4.[23]

Sūtras or partial sūtras of the Connected Discourses sometimes occur in, or as quotations in other Tibetan texts. Notable among these are the Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya/'Dul ba gshi (D 1), Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya/Chos mngon pa'i mdsod kyi bshad pa (D 4090), the Yogācārabhūmi/Rnal 'byor spyod pa'i sa (D 4035) and Śamathadeva's Abhidharmakośa-ṭīkopāyikanāma/Chos mngon pai'i mdsod kyi 'grel bshad nye bar mkho ba shes bya ba

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[22] A different version of the same sūtra is included among the Paritta texts. For additional parallels, see the entry there.

[23] Like the preceding, another version of the same sūtra is found among the Paritta texts. In this case the title differs slightly from the other version. Additional parallels accompany the first entry.

(D 4094; Honjō 1984). For example, the second sūtra of the Senior Scroll 5 is referred to in the Abhidharmakośabhāṣya, and quoted in the Abhidharmakośaṭīkopāyikanāma, for details see § 9.1.2.

As mentioned above (§ 1.2.2), a commentary on part of the Saṃyuktāgama is preserved in the Vastusaṃgrahaṇī. This is available in a Tibetan translation by Prajñāvarma, Jinamitra and Yeshes sde, Rnal 'byor spyod pa'i sa las gshi bsdu ba (D 4039).

1.2.5. Gāndhārī

1.2.5.1. The Senior Collection

The only known Gāndhārī fragments of sūtras from the Connected Discourses belong to the Senior Collection. Of the forty-one texts that make up the collection, twenty-six have direct parallels in the Pāli Saṃyutta-nikāya and the Chinese Zá āhán jīng. Two more sūtras have not been matched with particular parallels but are consistent in type with the Saṃyuktāgama sūtras. A catalog and study of this collection is currently being prepared by Mark Allon (In Progress). It will suffice, therefore, to give details here about only those texts which he and Richard Salomon have identified as being connected with this āgama. Some remarks as to their probable sectarian affiliation will also follow.

In addition to these sūtras listed in the table, a further eight may have been present in the Senior collection, but are not among the surviving fragments. These additional sūtras are suggested by citations in two of the scrolls (RS 7 and RS 8, about which see below).

1.2.5.2. Arrangement of the Senior Collection

The sūtras in table 2 are arranged in terms of their catalog numbers in the Senior Collection. It must be stressed, however, that this numbering is arbitrary, reflecting only the sequence in which the scrolls were examined prior to conservation. There are no indications on the scrolls themselves to indicate an order, except perhaps for the so-called 'Index scrolls' (RS 7 and RS 8). These two scrolls appear to have served as a sort of inventory to the collection as a whole, since they preserve references to many, but not all of the other texts (see for example, §§ 8.1.3, 9.1.3, 10.1.3, 11.1.3). However, it can be seen from mismatches

Table 2. The Saṃyuktāgama-type sūtras of the Senior Collection[24]

Gāndhārī	Sutta title in Pāli	Pāli parallel	Chinese parallel
RS 5.2	Natumhāka	SN 22.33	T 2 no. 99, sūtra no. 269
RS 5.3	Nibbidābahula	SN 22.146	T 2 no. 99, sūtra no. 48
RS 5.4	Vāsijaṭa	SN 22.101	T 2 no. 99, sūtra no. 263
RS 11.1	Viveka	SN 9.1	T 2 no. 99, sūtra no. 1131
RS 11.2	Sajjhāya	SN 9.2	T 2 no. 99, sūtra no. 1132
RS 11.3	Ayoniso	SN 9.3	T 2 no. 99, sūtra no. 1133
RS 11.4	Akusalavitakka	SN 9.4	T 2 no. 99, sūtra no. 1134
RS 11.5	Pākatindriya	SN 9.5	T 2 no. 99, sūtra no. 1135
RS 11.6	Gandhatthena	SN 9.6	T 2 no. 99, sūtra no. 1136
RS 11.7	Upaṭṭhāna	SN 9.7	T 2 no. 99, sūtra no. 1137
RS 11.8	Kassapagotta	SN 9.8	T 2 no. 99, sūtra no. 1138
RS 11.9	Sambahula	SN 9.9	T 2 no. 99, sūtra no. 1139
RS 11.10	Ānanda	SN 9.10	T 2 no. 99, sūtra no. 1140
RS 11.11	Anuruddha	SN 9.11	T 2 no. 99, sūtra no. 1141
RS 11.12	Nāgadatta	SN 9.12	T 2 no. 99, sūtra no. 1142
RS 11.13	Kulagharaṇī	SN 9.13	T 2 no. 99, sūtra no. 1143
RS 11.14	Vajjiputta	SN 9.14	T 2 no. 99, sūtra no. 1144
RS 13	Veḷudvāreyyā	SN 55.7	T 2 no. 99, sūtra no. 1044
RS 17.2	Tissa	SN 22.84	T 2 no. 99, sūtra no. 271
RS 19	Dārukkhandha	SN 35.200	T 2 no. 99, sūtra no. 1331
RS 20.2	Mahāpariḷāha	SN 56.43	T 2 no. 99, sūtra no. 422
RS 22.1	Dhanuggaha	SN 20.6	T 2 no. 99, sūtra no. 612
RS 22.2	Anattalakkhaṇa	SN 22.59	T 2 no. 99, sūtra no. 34
RS 22.3	Dutiyachiggaḷayuga	SN 56.48	T 2 no. 99, sūtra no. 406
RS 22.4	Uppāda	SN 22.30	T 2 no. 99, sūtra no. 78
RS 22.6	Puppha	SN 22.94	T 2 no. 99, sūtra no. 37

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[24] This inventory of the collection and identifications of parallels, are based on Mark Allon's work on this collection. The reader is advised to consult his forthcoming study for more a definitive list when it becomes available. Here and elsewhere I use the sutta titles given in the Burmese edition of the Pāli Tipiṭaka, as they are generally more reliable than those of the PTS edition, see § 10.1.2.

between the citations on these two scrolls and the sequence actually attested within particular scrolls (e.g., scroll 5, see § 4.2) that this order is not definitive. Therefore, the original sequence of the sūtras in this collection is not known, except for those sūtras occurring together on a single scroll.

Mark Allon has suggested, and will argue that the index scrolls were written prior to the writing of the other texts (Allon in Progress). This position is accepted here, and is supported by evidence that will be reviewed later (see also § 4.2). If this is correct, we might assume that the sequence preserved in the index scrolls is the more original one and was compromised during the writing of the collection for reasons connected with layout or other practical concerns. Consequently it should be this sequence that should be used when making comparisons to other collections of the Connected Discourses. However, another possibility exists, namely that the scribe received instructions for making a set of sutras for a ritual deposit and modified this list when he consulted his, probably written, archetypes because they contained an established ordering. Therefore, without further evidence we cannot know which sequence is correct—the order of the texts on the separate scrolls, or the order of the texts as listed in the index scrolls. Consequently, both possibilities will be considered in the structural analysis that follows (§ 1.4). This is provided, of course, that either ordering is structurally meaningful.

1.2.5.3. Sectarian Affiliation of the Senior Collection

The sectarian affiliation of this collection is most likely to be Dharmaguptaka. A full discussion of the reasons for this will appear in Allon's forthcoming study, but in the mean time some evidence may be adduced here. First, although the provenance of this collection is unknown, there is reason to believe it has come from the same general location as the British Library Kharoṣṭhī manuscripts, that is the area of Haḍḍa in Eastern Afghanistan. While the Senior manuscripts are thought to be as much as one hundred years younger than that collection (Salomon 2003: 78), the connection of the British Library manuscripts with the Dharmaguptakas (Salomon 1999: 175) at least shows that this group was active in this area and produced manuscripts written in Gāndhārī. Second, the fourth sūtra on Senior scroll 5

preserves an idiosyncratic version of the common formula of the factors that contribute to enlightenment (*bodhipakṣyadharma*) which, unlike the standard list, includes the four meditations (*dhyāna*).[25] Since this very list finds a parallel in both the Chinese Dīrghāgama, which is itself connected with the Dharmaguptakas, and the Dharmaguptaka-vinaya,[26] we have a textual verification of this hypothesis (see table 3). Admittedly, such an affiliation is not yet certain, but for the time being, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, we may assume a Dharmaguptaka connection in the analysis that follows.

Table 3. Comparison of the lists of the *bodhipakṣyadharma*

Gāndhārī RS 5.33–5	**Pāli** SN III 153.8–13	**Chinese** (SĀ) T no. 99 67a29–b1	**Chinese** (DĀ) T no. 1 16c10–1
4 spadoṭhaṇa	*4 satipaṭṭhāna*	*niànchù* 念處	4 *niànchù* 念處
4 samepaṣaṇa	*4 sammappadhāna*	*zhèngqín* 正勤	4 *yìduàn* 意斷
4 hirdhaüpaḍa	*4 iddhipāda*	*rúyìzú* 如意足	4 *shénzú* 神足
4 jaṇa	—	—	4 *chán* 禪
5 hidria	*5 indriya*	*gēn* 根	5 *gēn* 根
5 bala	*5 bala*	*lì* 力	5 *lì* 力
7 bejaga	*7 bojjhaṅga*	*jué* 覺	7 *juéyì* 覺意
aria aṭhagia maga	*ariya aṭṭhaṅgika magga*	*dào* 道	*xiánshèng bā dào* 賢聖八道
= 41	= 37	=37	= 41

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[25] The Nettipakaraṇa makes reference to a list of 43 *bodhipakkhiyā dhammā* (Nett 112.14), which presumably cannot include the 4 *jhānas.*

[26] The attribution of the Chinese Dīrghāgama (*Cháng āhán jīng* 長阿含經 T 1 no. 1) to the Dharmaguptakas is almost universally accepted among Japanese scholars (Mayeda 1985: 97); however, Boucher (2000b: 66–8), cautions against too readily accepting this indentification. The significance of the DĀ list has been discussed by Bronkhorst (1985: 306), and Gethin (1992: 281–2). In addition to the several occurrences in the DĀ, the same list including *chán* 禪 occurs in the MĀ (805c12–807a1) and an independent version of the Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra (T 1 no. 6 p. 181b8–9). The fact that the Chinese translation of the MĀ is generally connected with the Sarvāstivādins (perhaps of Gandhāra) complicates the Dharmaguptaka connection (Mayeda 1985: 98–9; Enomoto 1986: 21). The list occurs in the Dharmaguptaka-vinaya in T 22 no. 1428 pp. 805a, 1013c. I am grateful to Shigeru Saito for bringing these parallels to my attention.

1.2.5.4. Other Traces of the Saṃyuktāgama in Gāndhārī

Besides the Senior manuscripts, the only Gāndhārī parallels to the Saṃyutta-nikāya occur as individual verses in other Gāndhārī texts. In the Gāndhārī Dharmapada manuscript from Khotan (Dhp-G^K) these are verses 5, 6, 9, 26, 96, 97–99, 123, 125, 140, 141, 250, 267, and 288–9 (see Brough 1962). In the Anavatapta-gāthā, the only such verses are the identical 23 and 69, which are parallel to Saṃyutta-nikāya I. 140 (see Salomon in Progress). None of these verses occur among the fragments of the Senior Collection.

1.2.6. Other versions

A few fragments of the Saṃyuktāgama are available in Uygur (see Elverskog 1997: 20–3, Kudara and Zieme 1983, 1990). Some of these fragments appear to be survivals of what were perhaps complete translations from Chinese of the two longer versions of the Zá āhán jīng (T nos. 99, 100). However, none of these fragments coincide with those in the Senior Collection.

Other derivative translations from the Chinese, Pāli, and Tibetan versions detailed above are extant in numerous other languages, both ancient and modern, but will not be considered here.

1.3. The Structure and Arrangement of the Connected Discourses

The main characteristic of this collection is the grouping together of short sūtras by topic. The extant version of the Pāli Saṃyutta-nikāya is divided into five broad thematic units called *vagga* 'division'. These divisions are subdivided into smaller units called *saṃyutta* 'connected'. The Saṃyuktāgama (T no. 99) must have been similarly arranged, but the present text of Guṇabhadra's translation has all but lost these categories though traces of some divisions (*varga*) can be found in the headings of a few fascicules.[27] In the modern reconstructions of the original sequence of this text (see below § 1.3.2), different proposals as

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[27] Division titles are preserved at the beginning of fascicules: 8 (元 and 明 only), 16, 17, 18, and 24. For details see Anesaki 1908: 70–1. Yìn Shùn has included groupings by *saṃyukta* in his reconstruction of T no. 99. For details, see Choong 2000: 243–7.

to the vargas (*sòng* 誦 or *pǐn* 品) and saṃyuktas (*xiāngyìng* 相應) have been suggested. As mentioned above (§1.2.2), Guṇabhadra's translation is thought to have belonged to (Mūla-)Sarvāstivāda school. We may therefore also consider the list of the Saṃyuktāgama's varga divisions preserved in the Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya[28].

Table 4. The main divisions of the Saṃyutta-nikāya and the Saṃyuktāgama[29]

Saṃyutta-nikāya	Saṃyuktāgama	
	Mukai 1985	Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya
Sagātha-vagga	Skandha-varga	Skandha-varga (Yùn pǐn 蘊品)
Nidāna-vagga	Saḍāyatana-varga	Āyatana-dhātu-varga (Chù jìe pǐn 處界品)
Khandha-vagga	Nidānasaṃyukta-varga	Nidāna-āryasatya (Yuánqǐ shèngdì 緣起聖諦)
Saḷāyatana-vagga	Śrāvakavyākhyāna-varga	Śrāvaka-varga (Shēngwèn pǐn 聲聞品)
Mahā-vagga	Mārga-varga	Buddha-varga (Fó pǐn 佛品)
—	Buddhavyākhyāna-varga	Āryamarga-varga (Shèngdào pǐn 聖道品)
—	Saṃgīta-varga	Gāthā (qiétā 伽他)

This comparison shows a clear difference between the structures of the Saṃyutta-nikāya and the Saṃyuktāgama, both in number and sequence. The two arrangements of the Saṃyuktāgama are close, but differ in the that the placement of the Buddha(vyākhyāna)-varga and (Ārya)marga-varga are reversed. The differences in the names are not of great significance.

In Pāli, many of the *saṃyuttas* are divided into yet smaller groupings, also called *vagga*[30] 'chapter', containing, ideally, ten individual sūtras. The two largest *saṃyuttas* of the Pāli

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[28] This list comes from T 24 no. 1451 p. 407b21–27; see also Anesaki 1908: 68.

[29] I have simplified Mukai's reconstructed titles slightly in order to facilitate the comparison.

[30] In modern works the two different usages of the term *varga*/*vagga* are sometimes distinguished with upper and lowercase initials, a distinction not possible in Indic scripts.

version, the Khandha-saṃyutta and the Saḷāyatana-saṃyutta, are subdivided into groups of fifty suttas called *paññāsaka* 'set of fifty'. The name is not strictly applied as they may contain more than fifty suttas.

Before moving on to a detailed comparison of the arrangement of the Gāndhārī, Pāli and Chinese versions, we must first consider in greater detail the circumstances of the translation of T no. 99, as well as the efforts to restore the original arrangments of both T no. 99 and T no. 101.[31] So doing will help to place any relationships between the extant versions in context. Here I will review some findings by Enomoto Fumio (2001) and other scholars concerning the date, place, and source for the translation of Taishō number 99.

1.3.1. The Circumstances of the Translation of T no. 99

It is well known that the Chinese tradition often accords the title of translator (*yì* 譯) to persons who would not be regarded as the translator in the usual modern sense of the term. This is true in the case of Guṇabhadra's Zá āhán jīng, which has at the beginning of the text, "[Liú-]Sòng dynasty, Indian Tripiṭaka Guṇabhadra translator."[32] On the other hand, we learn from Sēngyòu's 僧祐 (445–518) Chū sānzàng jìjí 出三藏記集 that Mahāyāna Master Guṇabhadra recited (*xuānchū* 宣出) the texts while the monk Shì Bǎoyún 釋寶雲 (376–449) and a disciple called *Bodhidharmavīra (Pútífǎyǒng 菩提法勇) interpreted (*chuányì* 傳譯) them.[33] Later in the same work we find that Guṇabhadra had not long been in China when he began work on this text: "In the 12th year of Yuánjiā (= 435 A.D.) he reached Guǎngzhōu…at first he lived at Qíhuán temple… At Qíhuán temple he gathered various monks [who wanted] to learn the 'correct meaning' and translated the Zá āhán jīng".[34] However, in the

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[31] The order of the sūtras in the Korean edition of the Béiyì zá āhán jīng (T no. 100) was also in disarray, when Anesaki worked on this material in 1908. The arrangement was restored in the Japanese edition of 1885 (縮刷大藏經) on the basis of earlier Chinese editions of the text (Anesaki 1908: 70).

[32] 宋天竺三藏求那跋陀羅譯 (T 2 no. 99 p. 1a5).

[33] 摩訶乘法師求那跋陀羅…宣出諸經。沙門釋寶雲及弟子菩提法勇傳譯 (T 55 no. 2145 p. 13a6–8).

[34] 元嘉十二年至廣州。…初住祇洹寺。…於祇洹寺集義學諸僧。譯出雜阿含經。(T 55 no. 2145 p. 105c6–14). The dates of Yuánjiā are 424–453 A.D., so the twelfth year, counting inclusively, is 424 +

compendium Gǔjīn yìjīng tújì 古今譯經圖紀 prepared by Jìngmài 靖邁 in 664–665 A.D., the location of the translation is said to have been Wǎguān temple in Yángdū (T 55 no. 2151 p. 362b5). It would seem therefore, that Bǎoyún and *Bodhidharmavīra were the one's responsible for the actual work of translation, but we cannot be sure which temple it took place at. This makes sense as Bǎoyún had travelled together with Fǎxiǎn 法顯 as far as Peshawar and spent several years in the Indian subcontinent where he is said to have studied the local language[35], while Guṇabhadra, at this point, had just arrived in China. Nonetheless, for the sake of convenience and in keeping with tradition, I refer to T no. 99 as Guṇabhadra's translation.

The traditional date for this translation is also provided by Jìngmài's compendium, broadly defined as the period of his work at Wǎguān temple, that is, between the 12th and 20th years of Yuánjiā (= 435–443 A.D.).[36] This range can be further specified since, as mentioned above, the Zá āhán jīng is reckoned to be the first text Guṇabhadra worked on after arriving at Qíhuán temple. So he must have worked subsequently on the Śrīmālādevīsiṃhanāda-sūtra (T 12 no. 353), which was also done with the same Bǎoyún interpreting. The date for this translation has been recorded very precisely as the "14th day, 8th month, 13th year of Yuánjiā in Dānyáng county,"[37] which is equivalent to September 10, 436 A.D. (Lancaster 1979: 34). Therefore, the translation of the Zá āhán jīng should have been made quite quickly, between

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11 = 435 A.D. Therefore, the date 433 A.D. for the translation of the Zá āhán jīng given by Mayeda (1985: 100) and Harrison (2003: 1) seems to be wrong, as this would have been before Guṇabhadra arrived in China.

[35] "Yún, while in the foreign lands, studied the Indian (lit. 'barbarian') books thoroughly—the sounds and characters of the countries of India were explained [and he] practiced everything" 雲在外域遍學胡書。天竺諸國音字詁訓悉皆貫練。 (T 55 no. 2145 p. 113a13–4); Tsukamoto 1985: 439. Since Bǎoyún was in Gandhāra it is tempting to follow Dan Boucher's suggestion and understand *húshū* 胡書 as referring to books written in Kharoṣṭhī (Boucher 2000a). However, this interpretation may not be applicable in all instances.

[36] 以宋文帝元嘉十二年來至楊都。帝深重之勅住祇洹寺。至宋元嘉二十年歲次癸未。於楊都瓦官寺譯。 (T 55 no. 2151 p. 362b4–6).

[37] 元嘉十三年八月十四日於丹陽郡 (T 55 no. 2154 p. 528a5).

this date and the commencement of his translation work in the previous year, whence the range 435–6 A.D. (see Enomoto 2001: 32).

The final question with respect to the context of SĀ(G) is its source text. As mentioned above (§ 1.2.2), most modern scholars agree that the content of T no. 99 must belong to the Sarvāstivādins (or Mūlasarvāstivādins). The problem here is rather, where did this text come from. Enomoto has pointed out that there are conflicting accounts regarding the source text of the translation: either it was a manuscript obtained by Fǎxiǎn during his journey to India (399–413 A.D.), or it was recited by Guṇabhadra from memory (Enomoto 2001: 35).

In Fǎxiǎn's travel account, the Gāosēng Fǎxiǎn zhuǎn 高僧法顯傳 (T 51 no. 2085), he reports that he obtained manuscripts of the Mahīśāsaka Vinaya, Dīrghāgama, and Saṃyuktāgama as well as a short text called *Kṣudraka-piṭaka (Zá zàng 雜藏)[38] during his stay in Sri Lanka, shortly before his return journey to China. This report is later elaborated in Fèi Zhǎngfáng's 費長房 history, the Lìdài sānbǎo jì 歷代三寶紀 (597 A.D.), quoting from Dàohuì's (道慧), now lost Sòngqí catalog[39]: "Zá āhán jīng, 50 fascicules: translated at Wǎguān temple. Fǎxiǎn brought it back. Seen in Dàohuì's Sòngqí catalog."[40] Here we see two connections with what we already know of Guṇabhadra's translation: it consists of 50 fascicules, and, according to Jìngmài's account, it was translated at Wǎguān temple.[41] Therefore, it would seem possible that Guṇabhadra used this manuscript when making his translation. In this case, the source for this translation, generally held to be Sarvāstivāda, would have been transmitted in Sri Lanka. While this is not impossible, it does not accord well with our understanding of the history of this school. This problem has led Enomoto to

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[38] 更求得彌沙塞律藏本。得長阿含雜阿含。復得一部雜藏。(T 51 no. 2085 p. 865c24–5). See also Tsukamoto 1985: 436–7, and Deeg 2005: 572. The Zá zàng 雜藏, translated by Fǎxiǎn himself (T no. 745), may have been part of the Pretavastu, whence the title Kṣudrakapiṭaka. It has not been possible to identify the source language of this manuscript (de Jong 1981: 107).

[39] This was "a catalogue of translations made during the Sung [= Liú-Sòng] and Ch'i [=Qí] dynasties (420–502), which was compiled by Chih Tao-hui [= Shì Dàohuì] (451–81) shortly before his death." de Jong 1981: 108.

[40] 雜阿含經五十卷於瓦官寺譯。法顯齋來。見道慧宋齊錄 (T 49 no. 2034 p. 91a24).

[41] It is possible, however, that Jìngmài's work, being later, based its information on this source.

doubt the accuracy of this version of events. He suggests that Dàohùi's information cannot be relied upon since the original catalog is lost, and futher that there is no record of a catalog by someone called Dàohùi prior to this report in the Lìdài sānbǎo jì (Enomoto 2001: 33).[42]

On the other hand, Enomoto argues that, since the Chū sānzàng jìjí reports that Guṇabhadra worked on this text at Qíhuán temple, not at Wǎguān temple, and since it is also silent about the fate of Fǎxiǎn's manuscripts of both the the Dīrghāgama and Saṃyuktāgama we should assume that Guṇabhadra provided the original text for the Zá āhán jīng, perhaps from his memory (Enomoto 2001: 35–6). Guṇabhadra is said to have come from a Brahmin family in the Central India (Madhyadeśa), become a Buddhist monk after encountering the *Abhidharmasaṃyuktahṛdaya, and subsequently mastered the Tripiṭaka and embraced the Mahāyāna (T 55 no. 2145 p 105b18–26; see also Enomoto 2001: 36). This account fits better with the accepted school affiliation of the text since, Central India is closer to the home of the Sarvāstivādins or Mūlasarvāstivādins.

Nevertheless, I would like to introduce here some further arguments to support the former hypothesis. While Enomoto's reservations about Fèi Zhǎngfáng's account may be justifiable as far as the Dàohùi is concerned, we should accept that Fǎxiǎn brought a manuscript of the Saṃyuktāgama back from Sri Lanka to China, since this is explicitly stated in his own travel account. Going beyond this, there is good circumstantial evidence to suggest that it was this manuscript which Guṇabhadra worked from, while there seems to be no indication that Guṇabhadra had actually obtained or memorized this text.

We know that Guṇabhadra himself also went to Sri Lanka,[43] and it may have been Fǎxiǎn's reputation (he had been there about twenty years previously), or other contacts between Sri Lanka and Guǎngzhōu that inspired Guṇabhadra to make the journey to China. If he had heard of Fǎxiǎn, it would not be surprising that Guṇabhadra met and worked with one of the old master's companions, Bǎoyún, upon his arrival. Max Deeg has recently

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[42] De Jong has no such reservations and declares that "there is no valid reason to doubt the information from it [the Sòngqí catalog] that is given by Fei Ch'ang-fang [=Fèi Zhǎngfáng]" 1981: 108.
[43] 跋陀前到師子諸國。(T 55 no. 2145 p. 105c1).

reported that Guṇabhadra's translation of the Saṃyuktāgama contains some terms which follow Fǎxiǎn's transliterations; he gives as an example Pāli *ghosito gahapati* > *qúshīluó zhǎngzhě* 瞿師羅長者 (2005: 485–6). The first occurrence of this name and title comes in Fǎxiǎn's translation of the Mahāyāna Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra (T 12 no. 376 p. 876b18) completed in 417 A.D. at Dàochǎng temple in Yángdū, and later appears fifteen times in Guṇabhadra's Zá āhán jīng (e.g., T 2 no. 99 p. 117c24).[44] The reason for this connection must be Bǎoyún, who, as we saw above, translated Guṇabhadra's recitation into Chinese. Bǎoyún may even have been involved in producing Fǎxiǎn's translation of the Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra, as one account suggests it was Bǎoyún who served as scribe.[45] Another account specifies that the same or perhaps another manuscript of the Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra brought back by Fǎxiǎn was translated by Bǎoyún (T 55 no. 2145 p. 60b2–10). Therefore we can see that this Bǎoyún was connected with the translation of the texts which Fǎxiǎn brought back to China. We also know that several of Fǎxiǎn's manuscripts were translated in the period following his retirement from translation work (see Deeg 2005: 27–8), and I would suggest this may have been the result of a conscious effort on the part of his former colleagues, Bǎoyún included. One objection to this might be that Fǎxiǎn's Dirghāgama manuscript certainly was not translated, so why not also his Saṃyuktāgama? But this is easily explained since prior to Fǎxiǎn's journey, neither of these texts was available in China, hence his desire to obtain manuscripts of them. Unbeknownst to him, the Dirghāgama (T no. 1) had been translated by Buddhayaśas and Zhú Fóniàn 竺佛念 while he was away. The existence of this translation certainly would have been known in

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[44] This phrase also occurs in three other works of this period: Dharmakṣema's version of the Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra (T no. 374) 421 A.D.; Buddhajīva's translation of the Mahīśāsaka-vinaya (T no. 1421)—also one of Fǎxiǎn's manuscripts from Sri Lanka—prepared at Lóngguāng temple in Yángdū, 423–4 A.D.; and Huìyán 慧嚴, Huìguān 慧觀, and Xiè Língyùn's 謝靈運 re-edition of Dharmakṣema and Fǎxiǎn's versions of the Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra (T no. 375), prepared in Jiànkāng (Nánjīng) and dated broadly to the Yuánjiā era (424–52).

[45] See T 49 no. 2034 p. 71b7, which must be the referent for Tsukamoto 1985: 439, but there are some problems with this account.

Guǎngzhōu even if it was not itself available, so that there their would have been no need to produce a second translation. The transmission of texts between the translation centers in North and South China is evidenced by Dharmakṣema's version of the Mahāpari-nirvāṇa-sūtra (T no. 374), which was prepared in the North of China at Gūzàng in Liángdū, in 421 A.D., and re-edited by Huìyán 慧嚴, Huìguān 慧觀, and Xiè Língyùn 謝靈運 in Jiànkāng (Nánjīng) at some point during the Yuánjiā era (424–52).

Therefore, despite Enomoto's view that "in this situation, it is extremely hard to imagine how Guṇabhadra was concerned to translate the Saṃyuktāgama which Fǎxiǎn obtained," [46] this is not so difficult to explain: it should have been Bǎoyún who persuaded the Mahāyānist Guṇabhadra, eighteen years his junior, to recite the Saṃyuktāgama for him to translate when the latter had only just arrived from India.

We are then left with a reasonable possibility that the source for the translation of Taishō 99, which is almost universally regarded as belonging to the Sarvāstivāda, was a manuscript copied in Sri Lanka in around 410–11 A.D.[47] Exactly how and why a Sarvāstivāda manuscript should have been available in Sri Lanka at this time goes beyond the scope of this study, but we do know that other varieties of Buddhism were present in the days before the Theravādin monopoly (i.e., until the 12th century A.D.), and perhaps this included the Sarvāstivāda. For now we may note that the influence of Sarvāstivāda, and particularly Mūlasarvāstivāda texts on the Theravādin tradition has been detected by Bechert, and perhaps datable to this very period (see Bechert 2005: 48–9).

1.3.2. The Reconstruction of T no. 99

It has long been recognized that the sequence of Taishō number 99 is corrupt. In addition, fascicules (*juàn* 卷) 23 and 25 are missing and parts of the Aśokāvadāna have been inserted

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[46] "このような状況からは、求那跋陀羅が法顕将来の『雑阿含』の翻訳に関ったとは極めて考え難い" (Enomoto 2001: 35).

[47] It has recently come to my attention that de Jong and Demiéville also shared this opinion based on slightly different reasoning to the version I have presented here; de Jong 1981: 113, Demiéville 1953: 418.

in their place. These intruding parts are comparable with chapters 26 and 27 of the Divyāvadāna (Divy. 364–405), but not identical to it. In fact, they have not been identified with any particular translation but may be the survival of Guṇabhadra's own translation of the Aśokāvadāna, called Wúyōu wáng jīng 無憂王經.

According to Sēngyòu's catalog this text should have been just one fascicule, but this may be inaccurate since it was already lost before he completed his work.[48] Alternatively, Guṇabhadra's single fascicule Aśokāvadāna may somehow have become divided when inserted into his Saṃyuktāgama translation. If this really is Guṇabhadra's text, a view supported by Enomoto (2001: 36–7), this might suggest that it was thought to have been lost due to being incorrectly located among the fascicules of the Zá āhán jīng. Such a scenario would tell us that the arrangement of the latter text had already become corrupt by the time of Sēngyòu's catalog, that is, before 512 A.D., within 80 years of the time of its composition.

The corrupted state of Guṇabhadra's Saṃyuktāgama was first discussed in modern scholarship by Anesaki Masaharu in 1908. In his publication, *The Four Buddhist Āgamas in Chinese,* he proposed a tentative reordering in eight divisions (*varga/sòng* 誦) and identified the parts intruding from other texts (1908: 70–6). His reconstruction of the original sequence was guided by the order of anonymous translations of the Saṃyuktāgama (T no. 100) in those portions where the two versions overlap in content, and by the uddānas in the Division on the Aggregates (*Skandha-varga;* see table 3) and other titles preserved in Guṇabhadra's translation. Anesaki also made use of Pāli parallels to complete his sequence. Finally, he checked his work against the information provided by some of the Vinaya accounts[49] and the Yogācārabhūmi on the order of the sub-divisions of this text. Since this ground-breaking work, other scholars have been drawn to the problem. The various reconstructions are

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[48] 無憂王經一卷闕 (T 55 no. 2145 p. 13a3), see also Mizuno 1988: 9–10.

[49] The following Vinaya works contribute to the understanding of the original sequence of the SĀ: Mahīśāsaka-vinaya (T 22 no. 1421); Mahāsaṅghika-vinaya (T 22 no. 1425); Dharmaguptaka-vinaya (T 22 no. 1428); Mūlasarvāstivādavinayakṣudraka-vastu (T 24 no. 1451; Dutt 1984); and *Vinaya-mātṛkā (= *Pínímǔ jīng* 毘尼母經, T 24 no. 1463).

summarized in table 5. In the table, the rows represent fasicules, numbered according to the present arrangement in the Taishō; and differences in shading define the varga groupings. The evolution of these studies have led to two competing reconstructions, one by Hanayama, the other by Yìn Shùn. It can be seen from the table that there are only minor differences between the two.

1.3.2.1. The Reconstruction of Hanayama Shōdō

Shiio Benkyō adopted Anesaki's reconstruction for his Japanese translation of the Saṃyuktāgama (1935), with only a slight change in the ordering of the fascicules in the Skandha-varga. Almost twenty years later Hanayama published a new reconstruction[50] in which Anesaki and Shiio's sixth (Pudgala-varga) and eighth divisions (Tathāgata-varga) were moved into the Division on the Path (Marga-varga). In the process the two remaining divided fascicules in Shiio's version were reunited and the number of divisions (*varga*) reduced to six. Hanayama's reconstruction assumes that the disorder arose through a mix-up in the sequence of complete fascicules, a hypothesis which is, *a priori,* preferable to more complex scenarios. Similar textual restorations have been demonstrated by Paul Harrison in connection with two Āgama florilegia (1997, 2003).

1.3.2.2. The Reconstruction of Yìn Shùn

Lǚ Chéng published an improvement on Anesaki's reconstruction in 1924, in which he identified the Vastusaṃgrahaṇī as a commentary to the Saṃyuktāgama and adjusted Anesaki's reconstruction to incorporate the results of his discovery (Lǚ 1924: 117–8). His version is broadly similar to Anesaki's sequence, but arranged in ten divisions (*varga*). Like

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[50] Hanayama 1954: 317. This arrangement has been adopted by Mayeda (1964: 656) and reappears in Mizuno (1988: 21).

Table 5. Comparison of the modern reconstructions of Taishō number 99

Anesaki 1908	Lǚ 1924	Shiio 1935	Hanayama 1954	Yìn Shùn 1971	Yìn Shùn 1983	Mukai 1985
1	1	1	1	1	1	1
10	10	10	10	10	10	10
3.2	3	3	3	3	3	3
2	2	2	2	2	2	2
3.1	5	5	5	5	5	5
5	8	6	6	6	6	6
6	9	7	7	7	7	7
7	43	8	8	8	8	8
8	11	9	9	9	9	9
9	13	11	11	43	43	43
11	12	13	13	11	11	11
13	14	43	43	13	13	13
43	15	12	12	12	12	12
12	16	14	14	14	14	14
14	17	15	15	15	15	15
15	18	16	16	16	16	16
16	19	17	17	17	17	17
17	20	18	18	18	18	18
18	21	19	19	19	19	19
19	41.2	20	20	20	20	20
20	32	21	21	21	21	21
21	33	24	24	31		
24	34	26	26	24	31	31
26	35	27	27		24	24
27	47	28	28			
28	37	29	29	26	26	26
29	6	30	30	27	27	27
30	7	41.1	31	28	28	28
41.1	31	31	41	29	29	29
31		35.2	32	30	30	30
35.2	24	47	33	41	41	41
47		37	34	32	32	32
37	26	38	35	33	33	33
38	27	39	47	34	34	34
39	28	40	37	35	35	35
40	29	46	38	47	47	47
46	30	42	39	37	37	37
42	41.1	4	40	38	38	38
4	38	44	46	39	39	39
44	39	45	42	40	40	40
45	40	36	4	46	46	46
36	46	22	44	42	42	42
22	42	48	45	4	4	4
48	4	49	36	44	44	44
49	44	50	22	45	45	45
50	45	41.2	48	36	36	36
41.2	36	32	49	22	22	22
32	22	33	50	48	48	48
33	48	34		49	49	49
34	49	35.1		50	50	50
35.1	50					

Shiio, he has split fascicule 41.[51] Lǚ was also the first two consider the placement of the two missing fascicules, which were ignored by Japanese scholars until the 1980s.[52] However, these he placed, perhaps mechanically, either side of fascicule 24.

Yìn Shùn published his first reconstruction of the Saṃyuktāgama in 1971, followed by a revised version in 1983.[53] The only difference between these two is the placement of one of the missing fascicules. In terms of the sequence, he has combined Lǚ's observations on the Vastusaṃgrahaṇī with Hanayama's reconstruction to produce an ordering with no split fascicules, arranged in just five divisions. Yìn Shùn's sequence was adopted by Mukai, but he reassigned the varga identifications of some sequences to give a total of seven divisions (Mukai 1985: 18). Support for doing so comes from the list of seven division titles given in the Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya (see above § 1.3) as well as the self-identification of Taishō no. 99 folio 18 as the belonging to the Śrāvakavyākhyāna, being the fourth division[54] (see above § 1.3, and table 3). Most recently, Choong has adopted Yìn Shùn's arrangement in five divisions for his comparison of the Pāli and Chinese texts of the Connected Discourses.[55]

On the basis of the history outlined above of the attempts to reconstruct Guṇabhadra's Saṃyuktāgama, it can be seen that Yìn Shùn's sequence is the most up-to-date, and has recently gained acceptance among Japanese and other scholars. Questions regarding the correct identification of the divisions may yet continue, but these are of secondary

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[51] Lǚ divides fascicule 41 after the 53rd sūtra, whereas Shiio does so after the 48th. However, I am not sure that these are necessarily different sūtras, since they were using different editions of the canon which I have not been able to check.

[52] Mukai adopted Yìn Shùn's sequence in his study of the Vastusaṃgrahaṇī (Mukai 1985: 18). Yìn Shùn's work was also favorably reviewed by Mizuno (1988: 22–36).

[53] Yìn Shùn 1971: 677–80, 1983: 45–9. Yìn Shùn's sequence is adopted in the Fóguāng edition of the Saṃyuktāgama (FG).

[54] 弟子所説誦第四品 (T 2 no. 99 p. 126a6).

[55] Choong's study has focused on the Sūtrāṅga portion of the Connected Discourses, a section of text based on an alternate division of the whole work by three classifications (aṅga): Sūtra, Geya, Vyākaraṇa. The importance of this scheme of division is stressed in Yìn Shùn's work. He provides a table giving full details of this classification together with Yìn Shùn's reconstruction by *Varga* and *Saṃyukta*, Choong 2000: 243–7.

importance when making comparative studies of the arrangement. As it turns out, the slight differences between Hanayama's and Yìn Shùn's reconstructions do not affect the results of the following analysis because there are no parallels in the affected fascicules (31, 43) of the text with the Gāndhārī sūtras, or those from Ān Shìgāo's anthology (T no. 101).

1.3.3. The Reconstruction of T no. 101

For the original sequence of the sūtras in T no. 101, we may adopt the solution proposed by Harrison (2003),[56] which argues that the current arrangement is also corrupt and should be restored on the basis of a list preserved in a catalog by Shì Dào'ān 釋道安 (314–85), the Zōnglǐ zhòngjīng mùlù 綜理眾經目錄, which is itself preserved in Sēngyòu's Chū sān zàng jīng (T no. 2145 15b10–16c6).

1.4. Comparisons of the Arrangements of Versions of the Connected Discourses

The following analysis compares the arrangement of the Gāndhārī Saṃyuktāgama-type sūtras preserved in the Senior Collection with their parallels in Pāli and Chinese. In addition, the same analysis is applied to Ān Shìgāo's Saṃyuktāgama (T no. 101), as this anthology of a similar number, but different, sūtras may serve as a second layer of comparison in evaluating the results. Since the Tibetan Saṃyuktāgama-type sūtras do not constitute a single set they will not be considered further. The Sanskrit fragments will also be omitted here as the largest set is a sequence of twenty five sūtras, the Nidāna-saṃyukta, which does not reflect the kind of anthology found in Gāndhārī.

The preceding survey has shown that all of the Chinese versions of the Saṃyuktāgama have suffered some kind of confusion in their arrangement at one time or another. In the analysis which follows these differences have been taken into consideration and are commented upon where they affect the results.

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[56] Harrison's observations echo Anesaki's work (1908: 31–4). I use the parallel identifications of Harrison on the basis that they are more up-to-date.

1.4.1. Comparisons with the Pāli Arrangement

The present arrangement of the Pāli Saṃyutta-nikāya corresponds to the sequence preserved in Buddhaghosa's commentary; therefore we need not be concerned with the kind of problems facing the Chinese sources. Table 6 shows the parallel sūtras in Gāndhārī and Pāli, on the basis of the Pāli ordering. The shaded rows identify those sūtras which belong to the same *vagga* in Pāli. The Aṅga identification for each entry is based on Yìn Shùn's work, as presented by Choong (2000: 243–51).

We can see from the table that the thirty-two Gāndhārī sūtras represent each of the five major divisions (*Vagga*) of the Pāli Saṃyutta-nikāya with one or more parallels, but only seven of the fifty-six saṃyuttas. That is to say, the Gāndhārī sūtras cover the range of major divisions, but within each division, are concentrated on particular sets of sūtras (the saṃyuttas). There is just one sūtra from the Nidāna-Vagga. The alternate classification by limb (*aṅga*) also shows a distributed representation in the Senior Collection, though the Veyyākaraṇa-aṅga occurs just once.

Further, we find that the short Vana-saṃyutta is found in its entirety, in exactly the same sequence as in Pāli. So it would seem that this group was conceived of as a fixed unit and was common to both the Pāli and Gāndhārī traditions. The six other saṃyuttas represented among the Gāndhārī versions are all larger than the Vana-saṃyutta, and are themselves divided into smaller units (also called vagga) in the Pāli Saṃyutta-nikāya. Ideally these units consist of ten suttas each. Three of these small vaggas have multiple parallel sūtras in Gāndhārī (Puppha, Āsīvisa, and Papāta). This suggests that a close relationship between the sūtras concerned existed in both traditions (SN 22.94, 101, 102; 35.197, 200; 56.43, 48). However, it is notable that the Gāndhārī sūtras which have Pāli parallels belonging to the same the same vagga are not set closely to each other in either the Index scrolls, or, as far as can be determined, in the sequence of the text scrolls. For example, the Gāndhārī sūtras with Pāli parallels in the Puppha-vagga are numbered 7.3 no. 4, 7.17 no. 2, and 8.5–6 in the Index scrolls, which does not suggest an obvious connection. The sequence of the two extant

Table 6. Arrangement comparison: Pāli and the Senior Collection

Pāli	Title	Vagga	Saṃyutta	vagga	Aṅga	Text sq.	Gāndhārī Index scrolls
SN 2.2.10	Anāthapiṇḍika	Sagātha	Devaputta	Anāthapiṇḍika	Geyya	Lost	7.18-20
SN 9.1	Viveka	Sagātha	Vana	—	Geyya	11.1	7.12 nos. 1–2
SN 9.2	Upaṭṭhāna	Sagātha	Vana	—	Geyya	11.2	7.12 nos. 1–2
SN 9.3	Kassapagotta	Sagātha	Vana	—	Geyya	11.3	7.12 nos. 1–2
SN 9.4	Sambahula	Sagātha	Vana	—	Geyya	11.4	7.12 nos. 1–2
SN 9.5	Ānanda	Sagātha	Vana	—	Geyya	11.5	7.12 nos. 1–2
SN 9.6	Anuruddha	Sagātha	Vana	—	Geyya	11.6	7.12 nos. 1–2
SN 9.7	Nāgadatta	Sagātha	Vana	—	Geyya	11.7	7.12 nos. 1–2
SN 9.8	Kulagharaṇī	Sagātha	Vana	—	Geyya	11.8	7.12 nos. 1–2
SN 9.9	Vajjiputta	Sagātha	Vana	—	Geyya	11.9	7.12 nos. 1–2
SN 9.10	Sajjhāya	Sagātha	Vana	—	Geyya	11.10	7.12 nos. 1–2
SN 9.11	Ayoniso	Sagātha	Vana	—	Geyya	11.11	7.12 nos. 1–2
SN 9.12	Akusalavitakka	Sagātha	Vana	—	Geyya	11.12	7.12 nos. 1–2
SN 9.13	Pākatindriya	Sagātha	Vana	—	Geyya	11.13	7.12 nos. 1–2
SN 9.14	Gandhatthena	Sagātha	Vana	—	Geyya	11.14	7.12 nos. 1–2
SN 20.6	Dhanuggaha	Nidāna	Opamma	—	Veyyākaraṇa	22.1	7.6 no. 2
SN 22.30	Uppāda	Khandha	Khandha	Bhāra	Sutta	22.4	7.1
SN 22.33	Natumhāka	Khandha	Khandha	Natumhāka	Sutta	5.2	7.16
SN 22.59	Anattalakkhaṇa	Khandha	Khandha	Upaya	Sutta	22.2	7.7
SN 22.84	Tissa	Khandha	Khandha	Thera	Sutta	17.2	7.12 no. 3
SN 22.94	Puppha	Khandha	Khandha	Puppha	Sutta	22.6	7.17 no. 2
SN 22.101	Vāsijaṭa	Khandha	Khandha	Puppha	Sutta	5.4	8.5–6
SN 22.102	Aniccasaññā	Khandha	Khandha	Puppha	Sutta	Lost	7.3 no 4
SN 22.146	Nibbidābahula	Khandha	Khandha	Kukkuḷa	Sutta	5.3	7.15
SN 35.190	Khīrarukkhopama	Saḷāyatana	Saḷāyatana	Samudda	Sutta	Lost	7.3 no. 3
SN 35.197	Āsīvisopama	Saḷāyatana	Saḷāyatana	Āsīvisa	Sutta	Lost	7.3 no. 2
SN 35.200	Dārukkhandha	Saḷāyatana	Saḷāyatana	Āsīvisa	Sutta	19	8.1 no. 1
SN 55.7	Veḷudvāreyyā	Mahā	Sotāpatti	Veḷudvāra	Sutta	13	7.17 no.1
SN 55.27	Dutiya-Anāthapiṇḍika	Mahā	Sotāpatti	Saraṇāni	Sutta	Lost	7.4–5
SN 56.21	Paṭhamakoṭigāma	Mahā	Sacca	Koṭigāma	Sutta	Lost	7.5
SN 56.43	Mahāparilāha	Mahā	Sacca	Papāta	Sutta	20.2	8.1 no. 2
SN 56.48	Dutiyachiggaḷayuga	Mahā	Sacca	Papāta	Sutta	22.3	7.6 no. 1

Table 7. Arrangement comparison: Pāli and Taishō number 101

Pāli	Title	Vagga	Saṃyutta	vagga	Aṅga	Chinese	
						Dào'ān	T no. 101
AN 2.2.1-3	Bala	Duka	—	Adhikaraṇa	—	2	13
AN 3.2.29	Pāpaṇika	Tika	—	Rathakāra	—	11	23
AN 3.4.32b	Sāriputta	Tika	—	Devadūta	—	12	24
AN 4.16.151–5	Indriya	Catukka	—	Indriya	—	22	7
≈AN 5.1.1–2	Saṃkhitta etc.	Pañcaka	—	Sekhabala	—	4	16
SN 6.1.7–9	Kokālika etc.	Sagātha	Brahma	Paṭhama	Geyya	21	6
SN 7.1.3, 7.1.4	Asurindaka	Sagātha	Brāhmaṇa	Arahanta	Geyya	23	8
SN 7.1.5	Ahiṃsaka	Sagātha	Brāhmaṇa	Arahanta	Geyya	6	18
SN 7.2.1	Kasibhāradvāja	Sagātha	Brāhmaṇa	Upāsaka	Geyya	5	17
SN 11.2.1	Vatapada	Sagātha	Sakka	Dutiya	Geyya	20	5
SN 14.17–29	Assaddhasaṃsandana	Nidāna	Dhātu	Dutiya	Sutta	14	26
SN 15.10	Puggala	Nidāna	Anamatagga	Paṭhama	Veyyākaraṇa	15	2
SN 16.7	Dutiya-ovāda	Nidāna	Kassapa	—	Veyyākaraṇa	18	1
SN 22.51	Nandikkhaya	Khandha	Khandha	Attadīpa	Sutta	9	21
SN 22.78	Sīha	Khandha	Khandha	Khajjanīya	Sutta	8	20
SN 37.3.25–6	Visārada etc.	Salāyatana	Mātugāma	Bala	Veyyākaraṇa	25	11
SN 47.2	Sati	Mahā	Satipaṭṭhāna	Ambapāli	Sutta	16	3
SN 47.43	Magga	Mahā	Satipaṭṭhāna	Amata	Sutta	1	12
≈SN 54.1	Ekadhamma	Mahā	Ānāpāna	Ekadhamma	Sutta	13	25
SN 56.63 etc.	Paññā	Mahā	Sacca	Paṭhama-āmakadhaññapeyyāla	Sutta	7	19

parallels from this vagga in the text scrolls is also apparently unconnected, 5.4, 22.6, even when we remember that the scroll numbers themselves are arbitrary and therefore irrelevant.

A possible exception to this apparent lack of connection between sūtras from the same vagga is the Natumhāka-vagga. It is not shown in the table, but the Nibbidābahula-sutta (SN 22.146) is almost identical to another sutta from the Natumhāka-vagga called the Anudhamma-sutta (SN 22.39; see § 10.1.2). If these two suttas (SN 22.146 and 22.39) both stem from a single archetype having a proximity to the Natumhāka-sutta, then we would have a strong parallelism with Gāndhārī sūtras RS 5.2 and RS 5.3.

If we now look at Ān Shìgāo's anthology (table 7), and consider only those 15 sūtras which have parallels in the Pāli Saṃyutta-nikāya, we find that again all five major divisions are represented as well as all three Aṅgas. Also, three Pāli saṃyuttas have multiple parallels in Ān Shìgāo's work, and one of the smaller vaggas has two sūtras (Arahanta). But again, just as we saw with Gāndhārī, these two sūtras are not especially close in either Dào'ān's list (6 and 23) or the extant ordering of Taishō 101 (8 and 18).

1.4.2. Comparisons with Reconstructed Arrangement of Taishō number 99

Table 8 shows the Saṃyuktāgama-type sūtras of the Senior Collection arranged in terms of their parallels in Yìn Shùn's reconstruction of Taishō number 99. As in the case of Pāli, the five major divisions (*Varga*) and all three Aṅgas, of this text are included among the parallel Gāndhārī sūtras. However, the two additional Vargas in Mukai's arrangement (see above § 1.3.2.2) are not included. Going beyond this, we see that the thirty-one parallels come from just nine of the fifty-one saṃyuktas. Since the smaller unit, the fascicule (*juàn*), is a purely Chinese creation, and since no smaller units equivalent to the Pāli vagga have been identified in this collection, we can make an assessment of relationships based on numerical proximity only. As with Pāli, the sūtras of the Vana-saṃyutta are preserved together in exactly the same sequence, however, in this case, Yìn Shùn has identified these texts as belonging to two different saṃyuktas: Bù huài jìng xiāngyìng 不壞淨相應 and Dàjiā yè xiāngyìng 大迦葉相應. Four other groupings of numerically proximate sūtras are apparent (shaded in the table): group 1, Taishō sūtra numbers 263, 269, 270, 271; group 2, numbers 34,

37, 48, 49; group 3, numbers 403, 406, 422; group 4, numbers 1131–44; group 5, numbers 1031 and 1044. Unlike the case with Pāli, these groupings might show a connection to the arrangement of the text scrolls in the Senior Collection, more so than the citations in the index scrolls. For example, in group 1, two Gāndhārī sūtras are closely placed, 5.2 and 5.4, whereas the citations of these texts in the index scrolls are 7.16 and 8.5–6 respectively. If the lost sūtra from this group (cited in RS 7.3 no. 4) was originally located at the top of scroll 17 then we would have a strong correlation between the four sūtras in this group and the reconstructed sequence of Taishō number 99, continuing from scroll 5 onto the top of scroll 17. The placement of the four corresponding citations in the index scrolls do not have such a connection. In group 2, if we ignore the Nibbidābahula-sutta, which as we saw above, may be connected with the Natumhāka-sutta (see also § 10.1.2), the remaining three sūtras are 22.1, 22.2, and 22.6. This is once again, a reasonable grouping. On the other hand, we can see two pairings in the citations of these four sūtras in the index scrolls: 7.6 no. 2, 7.7; and 7.15, 7.17 no. 2. Group 3 is again hindered by a lost sūtra, however, the citations again show a pair, 7.5, 7.6 no. 1. Group 4 also suffers from a lost sūtra, and here the citations don't form an obvious pair. Just four of the Gāndhārī sūtras are not located in close proximity with other sūtras from the collection based on Yìn Shùn's ordering (T no. 99 sūtra nos. 78, 1172, 593, 1331).

A similar situation is also revealed in the comparison of Dào'ān's arrangement of Taishō 101 to Yìn Shùn's reconstruction of Guṇabhadra's translation (table 9). Here we see four of the five major divisions, the Ṣaḍāyatanavarga (*liù rùchù sòng* 六入處誦) is absent, and all three Aṅgas. The nineteen sūtras represent twelve different saṃyuttas. As in the Gāndhārī, five groupings are found: group 1, numbers 442, 450; group 2, numbers 661, 666, 667; group 3, numbers 1151, 1155, 1156; group 4, numbers 94, 98; group 5, numbers 1189, 1193. To these we might add a sixth group, numbers 947, 982, but these are admittedly further apart. These groupings show a strong connection between Doa'an's ordering and the reconstructed sequence of Taishō 99. For example, the group 1 sūtras are 442 and 450 in T no. 99, and 8 and 10 in Dào'ān's sequence; group 2 are 661, 666, 667, and 4, 5, 6 respectively. There are

Table 8. Arrangement comparison: Taishō number 99 and the Senior Collection

T no. 99 (Yìn Shùn)	Title (Pāli)	Vagga	Saṃyutta	Aṅga	Text sq.	Gāndhārī Index scrolls
263	Vāsijata	五陰誦	陰相應	Sūtra	5.4	8.5–6
269	Natumhāka	五陰誦	陰相應	Sūtra	5.2	7.16
270	Aniccasaññā	五陰誦	陰相應	Sūtra	Lost	7.3 no 4
271	Tissa	五陰誦	陰相應	Sūtra	17.2	7.12 no. 3
78	Uppāda	五陰誦	陰相應	Sūtra	22.4	7.1
34	Anattalakkhana	五陰誦	陰相應	Sūtra	22.2	7.7
37	Puppha	五陰誦	陰相應	Sūtra	22.6	7.17 no. 2
48	Nibbidābahula	五陰誦	陰相應	Sūtra	5.3	7.15
49	Dhanuggaha	五陰誦	陰相應	Sūtra	22.1	7.6 no. 2
1172	Āsīvisopama	六入處誦	入處相應	Sūtra	Lost	7.3 no. 2
403	Pathamakotigāma	雜因誦	諦相應	Sūtra	Lost	7.5
406	Dutiyachiggalayuga	雜因誦	諦相應	Sūtra	22.3	7.6 no. 1
422	Mahāparilāha	雜因誦	諦相應	Sūtra	20.2	8.1 no. 2
1131	Viveka	道品誦	不壞淨相應	Vyākaraṇa	11.1	7.12 nos. 1–2
1132	Upatthāna	道品誦	不壞淨相應	Vyākaraṇa	11.2	7.12 nos. 1–2
1133	Kassapagotta	道品誦	不壞淨相應	Vyākaraṇa	11.3	7.12 nos. 1–2
1134	Sambahula	道品誦	不壞淨相應	Vyākaraṇa	11.4	7.12 nos. 1–2
1135	Ānanda	道品誦	不壞淨相應	Vyākaraṇa	11.5	7.12 nos. 1–2
1136	Anuruddha	道品誦	大迦葉相應	Vyākaraṇa	11.6	7.12 nos. 1–2
1137	Nāgadatta	道品誦	大迦葉相應	Vyākaraṇa	11.7	7.12 nos. 1–2
1138	Kulagharaṇī	道品誦	大迦葉相應	Vyākaraṇa	11.8	7.12 nos. 1–2
1139	Vajjiputta	道品誦	大迦葉相應	Vyākaraṇa	11.9	7.12 nos. 1–2
1140	Sajjhāya	道品誦	大迦葉相應	Vyākaraṇa	11.10	7.12 nos. 1–2
1141	Ayoniso	道品誦	大迦葉相應	Vyākaraṇa	11.11	7.12 nos. 1–2
1142	Akusalavitakka	道品誦	大迦葉相應	Vyākaraṇa	11.12	7.12 nos. 1–2
1143	Pākatindriya	道品誦	大迦葉相應	Vyākaraṇa	11.13	7.12 nos. 1–2
1144	Gandhatthena	道品誦	大迦葉相應	Vyākaraṇa	11.14	7.12 nos. 1–2
1031	Dutiya-Anāthapindika	道品誦	病相應	Vyākaraṇa	Lost	7.4–5
1044	Veludvāreyyā	道品誦	業報相應	Vyākaraṇa	13	7.17 no.1
593	Anāthapindika	八眾誦	諸天相應	Geya	Lost	7.18–20
1331	Dārukkhandha	八眾誦	林相應	Geya	19	8.1 no. 1

Table 9. Arrangement comparison: Taishō number 99 and Taishō number 101

T no. 99 (Yìn Shùn)	Title (Pāli)	Vagga	Saṃyutta	Aṅga	Chinese	
					Dào'ān	T no. 101
56		五陰誦	陰相應	Sūtra	2	13
442	Paññā	雜因誦	諦相應	Sūtra	10	22
450	Assaddhasaṃsandana	雜因誦	界相應	Sūtra	8	20
610	Sati	道品誦	念處相應	Sūtra	24	14
661	Bala	道品誦	力相應	Sūtra	4	16
666	Saṃkhitta etc.	道品誦	力相應	Sūtra	5	17
667	Indriya	道品誦	力相應	Sūtra	6	18
802	Ekadhamma	道品誦	安那般那念相應	Sūtra	3	15
947	Puggala	道品誦	無始相應	Vyākaraṇa	25	11
982	Sāriputta	道品誦	雜相應	Vyākaraṇa	23	8
1256		道品誦	譬喻相應	Vyākaraṇa	11	23
1104	Vatapada	八眾誦	帝釋相應	Geya	9	21
1151	Asurindaka	八眾誦	波羅門相應	Geya	14	26
1155		八眾誦	波羅門相應	Geya	22	7
1156	Ahiṃsaka	八眾誦	波羅門相應	Geya	15	2
94	Dutiya-ovāda	八眾誦	波羅門相應	Geya	16	3
98	Kasibhāradvāja	八眾誦	波羅門相應	Geya	18	1
1189	Magga	八眾誦	梵天相應	Geya	19	4
1193	Kokālika etc.	八眾誦	梵天相應	Geya	20	19

also five (or seven) sūtras, which are not in any close numerical association (T no. 99 sūtra nos. 56, 610, 802, 1256, 1104).

1.5. Conclusions

The above comparisons reveal some interesting relationships between the two anthologies, the Saṃyuktāgama-type sūtras in the Senior Collection and Ān Shìgāo's Zá āhán jīng, and the two (more or less) complete versions of the Connected Discourses, the Saṃyutta-nikāya and Saṃyuktāgama (T no. 99). What is more, despite the fact that the two anthologies do not have a single sūtra in common, both of them show similar patterns of connection, which greatly reinforces any generalizations which may be drawn from these observations, as follows:

First, the short Vana-saṃyukta is found complete and comprises the same sequence of sūtras in Gāndhārī, Pāli, and Chinese. Therefore, we may surmise that some groupings of sūtras have great antiquity in the tradition, and go back to a time before the schisms which separated the schools represented by our extant texts (see above § 1.2).

Second, other Gāndhārī sūtras, and to a lesser extent those of Taishō 101, can be connected to groupings of suttas found in Pāli. Both anthologies also show slightly more connections to different groupings of sūtras in the reconstructed sequence of Taishō 99. In contrast to the first point, this suggests that there were also groups of sūtras which formed after the period in which the schools of our texts separated.

Third, the sequences of the sūtras seen in both anthologies seem to reflect the groupings in the reconstructed sequence of Guṇabhadra's translation more so than they do those in Pāli. This is especially true for Taishō 101.

Fourth, both anthologies contain, on the one hand, traceable groupings of sūtras, and on the other, selections from the full range of Varga and Aṅga divisions. This strongly suggests a conscious effort to make a summary of a larger corpus of Connected Discourses. This being the case, a much more complete Saṃyuktāgama collection must have been available either directly, or by some intermediary, to the compilers of these anthologies. We can say that such a collection would already have been arranged by Varga rather than purely by Aṅga.

As an additional note, the sequence shown in the text scrolls of the Senior Collection may be connected to the original order of Taishō number 99 more so than the sequence given in the index scrolls. This is somewhat complicated due to the lost sūtras and because at present only the sequence of sūtras within the scrolls can be known. If the sequence of the scrolls can be determined, this may provide more support for this theory or discount it altogether. If this is the case, and if the index scrolls were prepared in advance of the texts, the suggestion mentioned above (§ 1.2.5.2) might be correct. That is to say, the scribe prepared an initial list of texts from memory, but adjusted the order when making the copies, once he had consulted his source. Some of the errors noticed in the manuscript edited in this study suggest this source was probably written rather than oral (see § 4.2, 4.7).

CHAPTER 2
Comparison of the Gāndhārī, Pāli, Chinese,
Tibetan, and Sanskrit Versions

2.1. General Comments

As noted in the introduction, three of the four sūtras on this manuscript have close parallels in Pāli and Chinese, while the second text, the Natuspahu-sūtra, has an additional parallel in Tibetan. Only one of the four, the Ṣaña-sūtra, lacks a complete parallel, though in this case there are partial correspondences with stock formulae and longer passages in Pāli, Sanskrit, Tibetan and Chinese. The present chapter analyzes the relationships between the various versions at the textual level. In order to avoid excessive repetition, the reader should refer to the edition chapters for a complete presentation of the parallel texts (Chapters 8–11).

2.2. Detailed Comparisons

2.2.1. The Ṣaña-sutra

The contents of the Ṣaña-sutra, together with its partial parallels, are presented in detail in Chapter 8. Briefly stated, it consists of definitions of four kinds of meditative practices: perception of foulness (*asubhasaññā*), perception of death (*maraṇasaññā*), perception of the repulsiveness of food (*āhāre paṭikkūlasaññā*), and perception of non-delight in the entire world (*sabbaloke anabhiratasaññā*). While there are many similar lists in Pāli and Chinese, none of these contain exactly, and only, the four found in this Gāndhārī text (see § 8.1.2). A direct parallel to the definition of *asubhasaññā* is available in Pāli, in the Girimānanda-sutta (AN V 109.18–27), as well as Tibetan (D 38 *sher phyin, shes rab sna tshogs, ka* 276a5–9a2)—itself a translation of the Pāli—but the descriptions of the remaining perceptions are unique to the Gāndhārī text.

2.2.1.1. The Perception of Foulness

The description of *asubhasaññā* consists of three parts. The first is a formulaic introduction which describes how a monk should position himself in preparation for mediation and directs him to focus on his own body (lines 1–2). Second is a list of parts of the body, especially those which are impure (lines 2–4). Third is a formulaic conclusion

which identifies this meditation with the state called "one-pointedness of mind" (P *cittassa ekaggatā;* lines 4–5).

2.2.1.1.1. Going to Meditate

The formulaic introduction to the first two perceptions (the perception of foulness and the perception of death) reads as follows:

iśe bhikhu rukṣa(*mulaga̱da va śuña)g(*a)raga̱da va abhoaśaga̱da va (l. 1)

iśe bhikhu rukṣamulaga̱da va śuñagaraga̱da va abhoaśaga̱da va (ll. 5–6)

The Pāli parallel to the perception of foulness does not itself include the equivalent phrase, although six of the ten definitions in this sutta do: *idh'ānanda bhikkhu araññagato vā rukkhamūlagato vā suññāgāragato vā* (e.g., AN V 110.22–3). A Sanskrit version of this formula is preserved in the Gilgit manuscript of the Samādhirāja-sūtra: *(*vṛ)kṣ(*a)mūlagat(*o) vā abhyavakāśagato vā rahogataḥ pratisaṃlīno vā* (SRS(RV/LC) 2486.1)[1].

On the evidence of the Gāndhārī text, I consider it possible that this phrase has been dropped from the Pāli text as a form of abbreviation, rather than not being intended to apply in this case. In this connection, it is interesting to note that the same formula is omitted from the description of the third and fourth perceptions in Gāndhārī. This might also be a form of abbreviation, but it seems more likely that this phrase is not meant to apply, since the visualizations of these two perceptions require food in the first case (§ 2.1.3), and populated areas in the second (see § 2.1.4). It is also possible that the Gāndhārī passage includes this formula here as a result of its having being generalized in the definitions of the perceptions and is not original here, but given the nature of this meditation, I think that a solitary setting is appropriate. The Tibetan version, since it was translated from Pāli, does not include a parallel formula either, but the expression does occur with other definitions: *dge slong kun dga' bo 'di ni dgon pa'am, shing drung ngam, khang stong du song ste* (e.g., D 38, *ka* 277a4).

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[1] Dutt's edition of this text contains the fantasy reading *śūnyāgāramadhyagato* for *rahogataḥ* SRS(D) 33.12, under the influence of the Pāli formula. I am grateful to Gudrun Melzer for bringing this example to my attention.

The Gāndhārī version differs from both the Pāli and Tibetan in that it does not include the first location in the Pāli list, P *araññagato,* and has another term at the end of the sequence G *abhoaśagaḏa* (= P *abbhokāsagata*).[2]

The opening statement of the perception of foulness continues with an expression that partly corresponds to Pāli and Tibetan, but differs in that Gāndhārī includes the expression *yaṣaṭiḏa yaṣapraṇihiḏa* and switches the order of *tvayapayata* and *asa keśa(*mastaka)* (see table 10).

2.2.1.1.2. The Parts of the Body

The focus of this perception is a set of parts of the body. Similar lists occur throughout Buddhist literature, with some variation. Table 10 shows a comparison of this Gāndhārī list with those from the parallel texts in Pāli and Tibetan, as well as representative examples from Sanskrit and Chinese.

The list of body parts occurs sixteen times in the Pāli texts in three different versions.[3] The full list of 31 items occurs ten times; for example, the Girimānanda-sutta has:

> *kesā lomā nakhā dantā taco maṃsaṃ nhārū aṭṭhī aṭṭhimiñjaṃ vakkaṃ hadayaṃ yakanaṃ kilomakaṃ pihakaṃ papphāsaṃ antaṃ antaguṇaṃ udariyaṃ karīsaṃ pittaṃ semhaṃ pubbo lohitaṃ sedo medo assu vasā kheḷo siṅghāṇikā lasikā muttan* (AN V 109.21–6)

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[2] This version of the formula may have contributed to an apparent scribal error in one Turfan fragment of the appendix to the Nagaropama-sūtra. In a section describing the magical powers of one who studies and preserves that text, the text reads: *āsannasamāgato pi · abhyavakāśagato bhaviṣyati,* "even when he is encroached upon (by others), he will be unconstrained" (Bongard-Levin et al. 1996: 88, 102). Although this passage is unrelated to the introductory formula occurring in this sūtra, the term *abhyavakāśagato* may have prompted the scribe of one copy of the text, preserved in the fragment SHT 909, to regurgitate a semblance of this formula: *āsannasamāgato pi bhavati abhyavakāś(*a)gato pi · śunyagāragato p(*i) ·* (SHT III 909v5 pp. 164–6). This was noted as a scribal error in Bongard-Levin et al. (1996: 88 n. 12).

[3] This data is based on an electronic search of the VRI-CD.

Table 10. Comparison of the parts of the body

Gāndhārī	Pāli	Tibetan	Sanskrit	Chinese MĀ	Chinese SĀ
RS 5.2–4	AN V 109.21–6	D 38, *ka* 277a1–3	Śikṣ 209.8–11	T no. 26 556a14–6	T no. 99 311a28–b2
1. keśa	1. kesā	1. skra	1. keśāḥ	1. 髮	1. 髮
2. loma	2. lomā	2. ba spu	2. romāṇi	2. 毛	2. 毛
3. ṇaga	3. nakhā	3. sen mo	3. nakhā	3. 爪	3. 爪
4. data	4. dantā	4. so	4. dantā	4. 齒	4. 齒
5. raya	—	—	5. rajas	5. 塵	5. 塵
6. jala	—	—	6. malam	6. 網	6. 垢
7. tvaya	5. taco	5. lpags pa'i phyi shun	7. tvak	8. 皮	8. 皮
8. chaḍi	—	—	—	7. 薄膚	—
9. aṭi	8. aṭṭhi	8. rus pa	9. asthi	11. 骨	10. 白骨
10. aṭimija	9. aṭṭhimiñjaṃ	9. rkang mar	29. majjā	29. 髓	29. 髓
11. (*masa)	6. maṃsaṃ	6. sha	8. māṃsa	9. 肉	9. 肉
12. (*ṣaru)	7. nhāru	7. chu ba	10. snāyuḥ	10. 筋	11. 筋
13. (*vaka)	10. vakkaṃ	10. mkhal ma	12. vṛkkāḥ	13. 腎	17. 腎
14. (*yakaṇa)	12. yakanaṃ	12. mcher pa	21. yakṛt	14. 肝	14. 肝
15. hiḍa⟨*ya⟩	11. hadayaṃ	11. snying	13. hṛdayam	12. 心	13. 心
16. krumao	13. kilomakaṃ	13. glo ba	15. klomakaḥ	15. 肺	15. 肺
17. priao	14. pihakaṃ	14. sul mang	14. plīhakaḥ	18. 脾	16. 脾
18. pa[śpru]ṣa	15. papphāsaṃ	15. pho ba	—	—	—
19. atra	16. antaṃ	16. rgyu ma	16. antrāṇi	17. 小腸	18. (**小)腸
20. atraguṇa	17. antaguṇaṃ	17. rgyu ma'i gnye ma	17. antraguṇaḥ	16. 大腸	18. (**大)腸
21. guza	—	—	—	—	31. 癀?
22. uḍari	18. udariyaṃ	18. lgang pa	20. audaryakam	19. 胃	19. 肚
23. puriṣa	19. karīsaṃ	19. rtug pa	22. purīṣam	20. 搏糞	36. 屎
24. aśu	26. assu	26. mchi ma	23. aśru	23. 淚	23. 淚
25. śpeḍa	24. sedo	24. rngul	24. svedaḥ	24. 汗	24. 汗
26. khaḍe	28. kheḷo	28. mchil ma	25. kheṭaḥ	25. 涕唾	7. 流㖞
27. śigaṇa	29. siṅghāṇikā	29. snabs	26. siṅghāṇakam	30. 㳉	25. 涕
28. puya	22. pubbo	22. tshigs	33. pūyam	26. 膿	32. 膿
29. lohiḍa	23. lohitaṃ	23. khrag	34. śoṇitam	27. 血	33. 血
30. (*pita)	20. pittaṃ	20. mkhris pa	31. pittam	31. 膽	35. 汁
31. (*śileśpa)	21. semhaṃ	21. bad kan	32. śleṣmāḥ	—	30. 痰
32. (*meḍa)	25. medo	25. tshil	30. medaḥ	—	28. 脂
33. (*vasa)	27. vasā	27. zhag	27. vasā	28. 肪	27. 肪
34. (*la)siḳae	30. lasikā	30. chu ser	28. lasīkā	—	26. 沫？
35. masta	—	32. glad pa	35. mastakam	(21. 腦)	(34. 腦)
36. mastaluga	—	—	36. mastakaluṅgam	(22. 腦根)	34. 腦
—	—	—	11. śirā	—	12. 脈
—	—	—	18. āmāśayaḥ	—	20. 生藏
—	—	—	19. pakvāśayaḥ	—	21. 熟藏
—	31. muttaṃ	31. gcin	37. prasrāvaḥ	32. 小便	37. 溺

This version of the list also occurs in DN II 293, III 104[4]; MN I 57, III 90 twice; SN IV 111, V 278; AN III 323, V 109; Khp 2; and Vism 248–65. Each of these items is taken up and described in detail in Vism 239–65. The list at Khp 2 is a minor variant which differs from the rest by inserting *matthaluṅgaṃ* between *karīsaṃ* and *pittaṃ*.

A second version of the list has the first nineteen items up to *karīsaṃ* in common with the first version, but then concludes with *yaṃ vā panaññampi kiñci ajjhattaṃ paccattaṃ kakkhaḷaṃ kharigataṃ upādinnaṃ,* "or whatever else internally, belonging to oneself is solid, solidified, and clung-to" (Ñāṇamoli and Bodhi 1995: 279). This concluding expression seems intended to summarize the remaining items of the first list. This version occurs four times, in MN I 185, 421, III 240, and Vibh 82.

A third version of the list occurs only in the Nettipakaraṇa. This version is the same as the full version up to the nineteenth item, but then adds just two more, *matthake matthaluṅgan* (Nett 74.1–4). It is worth noting that this variant matches two items from the end of the Gāndhārī and Sanskrit lists, which supports the view that this Pāli text may have originated in the north of India, though not necessarily in Gandhāra (von Hinüber 1996: 80).

Several Sanskrit sources contain related lists of body parts. These are very similar to the Pāli list, but are longer, having additional items, and show some differences in the ordering. The following list from the Śikṣāsamuccaya, with thirty-seven items, is given here as an example:

keśā romāṇi nakhā dantā rajo malaṃ tvak māṃsāsthi snāyuḥ śirā vṛkkā hṛdayaṃ plīhakaḥ klomakaḥ antrāny antraguṇāmāśayaḥ pakvāśayaḥ audaryakam yakṛt purīṣam aśru svedaḥ kheṭaḥ siṅghāṇakam vasā lasikā majjā medaḥ pittaṃ śleṣmā pūyaṃ śoṇitaṃ mastakaṃ mastakaluṅgaṃ prasrāvaḥ (Śikṣ 209.8–11)

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[4] The second of these occurrences is from the Sampasādanīya-sutta, which seems to have a parallel in the newly discovered Dīrghāgama manuscript (Prāsādika, folio ?–299v2), based on the list of its sūtra titles (Hartmann 2004: 125–8). But I have not been able to check whether the manuscript includes the list of body parts.

The items from this list are reproduced in table 10. Similar lists containing the same items, or equivalent synonyms, can be found at: AVin 23.6–24.3, 41.7–11 (38 items); ŚBh(S) 203.4–10 (36 items); PoV 260.12–6; and ŚSPP(G) 1430.20–1431.1; 1431.10–4 (38 items).

These lists also occur in the Chinese and Tibetan translations of Buddhist literature. The list from the Tibetan parallel to the Girimānanda-sutta has been quoted above and is included in the table. I have also considered here two versions from Chinese translations of similar passages in the Kāyagatā-sati- and Bhāradvāja-suttas:

髮．毛．爪．齒．塵．網．薄膚[5]．皮．肉．筋．骨．心．腎．肝．肺．大腸．小腸．脾．胃．搏[6]糞．腦及腦根．涙．汗．涕唾[7]．膿．血．肪[8]．髓．涎．膽[9]．小便。(T 1 no. 26 556a14–6 = MN III 90.14–9)

髮．毛．爪．齒．塵．垢[10]．流唌[11]．皮．肉．白骨．筋．脈．心．肝．肺．脾．腎．腸．肚．生藏[12]．熟藏．胞．涙．汗．涕．沫．肪．脂．髓．痰．癊[13]．膿．血．腦．汁．屎．溺。(T 2 no. 99 311a28–b2 = SN IV 111.17–21)

[5] The editors of the Taishō read *cūxìbófū* 麁細薄膚 here without punctuation and noted *chénwǎng* 塵網 as a variant reading for *cūxì* 麁細 in 宋, 元, and 明 (p. 556 n.1). Based on the obvious parallelism between the Gāndhārī and Sanskrit lists and 塵網 = *rajojāla* (BCSD s.v. 塵 697 p. 301b; 網 2839 p. 934a), I consider this to be the better reading, see text notes on *raya jala,* Chapter 8 line 3. The alternative reading, 麁細 = Skt. *audārika-sūkṣma* etc. (BCSD s.v. 麁 4328 p. 1297b) seems quite out of place here. I have introduced punctuation based on the Gāndhārī and Sanskrit parallels.

[6] Variant readings are *shuàn* 腨 in 宋, 明 and *chuǎi* 揣 in 元. The former is equivalent to Skt. *jaṅgha* (BCSD s.v. 腨 3040 p. 979b), and the latter has the general meaning 'to estimate; to measure' (MCED s.v. 揣 1422 p. 200b). Neither seems to improve on the meaning adopted in the Taishō.

[7] The Taishō reads with punctuation, 涕．唾.

[8] Huì Mǐn equates *fáng* 肪 with Skt. *medas* (1992: 10), but I rather follow Wogihara and read *zhī* 脂 for *medas* and 肪 for Skt. *vasā* (BWDJT s.v. *medas, vasā,* pp. 1064a, 1183b resp.).

[9] The character *dǎn* 膽, = Skt. *pitta* (BCSD s.v. 膽 3063 p. 981a), has a variant *tán* 痰, = Skt. *śleṣman, pitta* (BCSD s.v. 痰 2422 p. 856b) in 元, 明. These are almost synonymous, and since neither term occurs in the Gāndhārī list, this variant need not concern us.

[10] The editors of the Taishō did not punctuate between *chén* 塵 and *gòu* 垢, but I feel there should be punctuation here in order to better match the Sanskrit and Gāndhārī parallels. Huì Mǐn also separates these two items in his study of a similar list in the Śrāvakabhūmi (1992: 10).

[11] The Taishō gives *xián* 涎 as an alternative reading here (311a29 n. 15: 宋, 元, 明). The HYDCD identifies this as the standard form with *xián* 唌 as a variant (s.v. 唌 vol. 3 p. 329b).

Such lists of body parts or impurities are not exclusive to Buddhist literature. For example, there is a list of twelve impurities of the body in the Mānava-Dharmaśāstra, which partially overlaps with our list: <u>vasā</u> śukram asṛṅ <u>majjā</u> mūtraviṭ karṇaviṇ nakhāḥ | śleṣmāśru dūṣikā <u>svedo</u> dvādaśaite nṛṇāṃ malāḥ || (Manu 5.135) "Body oil, semen, blood, marrow, urine, feces, ear-wax, nails, phlegm, tears, discharge of the eyes, and sweat—these are the twelve impurities of man" (Olivelle 2005: 145).

The Mahābhārata includes a verse in which the body is compared to a house, and contains a more succinct list of bodily impurities:

asthisthūṇaṁ snāyuyutaṁ māṁsaśoṇitalepanam |

carmāvanaddhaṁ durgandhi pūrṇaṁ mūtrapurīṣayoḥ || (MBh 12.316.42)

Having bones as its pillars, held together by sinews, smeared with flesh and blood, plastered with skin, stinking, full of urine and feces.

Another closely related description is found in the Maitrāyaṇīya-Upaniṣad. This apparently late text, sometimes classified among the "minor" Upaniṣads, has been described as being "a summing up of the old Upanishad doctrines with an admixture of ideas derived from the Sāṅkhya system and from Buddhism" (Macdonell 1900: 230):

śarīram idaṃ maithunād evodbhūtaṃ saṃvidvyapetaṃ niraya eva mūtradvāreṇa niṣkrāntam asthibhiś citaṃ māṃsenābhiliptaṃ carmaṇāvabaddhaṃ viṇmūtravāta-pittakaphamajjāmedovasābhir anyaiś ca malair bahubhiḥ paripūrṇam | etādṛśe śarīre vartamānasya ⟨kiṃ kāmopabhogaiḥ⟩ ||

bhagavann asthicarmasnāyumajjāśukraśonitaśleṣmāśrudūṣikāviṇmūtravātapittakapha-saṃghate durgandhe niḥsare 'smiñ śarīre kiṃ kāmopabhogaiḥ || (MaitrU 1.3a, b)

This body has come forth out of copulation and, devoid of consciousness, it comes out by the way of urine into a hell; it is piled up with bones, smeared over with flesh,

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[12] A variant reading *zàng* 臟, 'internal organ,' is provided in a footnote (T 2 no. 99 311a29 n. 16). The same alternation is also noted in the next item. In this case both *shóuzáng* 熟藏 and *shóuzàng* 熟臟 are noted as equivalent to Skt. *pakvāśaya* (BCSD s.v.熟 2183 p. 796b).

[13] The Taishō gives *dànyīn* 淡陰 without punctuation as an alternate reading for *tán, yìn* 痰．瘖 (311b1 n. 18).

bundled up with skin, and filled with feces, urine, wind, bile, phlegm, marrow, lymph, fat and with many other kinds of filth. How can one who inhabits such a body enjoy desires?

Sir, in this evil-smelling body, conglomeration of bones, skin, sinews, marrow, semen, blood, phlegm, tears, eye-secretion, feces, urine, wind, bile, and phlegm, devoid of all essence, how can one enjoy desires? (van Buitenen 1962: 123–4)

Naturally, the parts of the body are also described in the Sanskrit medical literature, for instance in the classical textbook of Āyurveda, the Suśrutasaṃhitā, which is dated, rather broadly, to the first centuries A.D. The fifth chapter of this work, Śārīrasthāna, is concerned with an enumeration and description of the parts of the body (see Zysk 1986: 691).

The practice of the enumeration of body parts appears to have been adopted in the Buddhist community, and further expanded. The thirty-one items of the full list in Pāli became thirty-two in its Tibetan translation, and there may have been thirty-six items in the Gāndhārī list, while Sanskrit texts have lists with thirty-six to thirty-eight items. The items included in the list are also subject to variation. Details on the correspondences between the Gāndhārī and the other versions are shown in table 10 and discussed in detail in the notes to the edition in Chapter 8 (see § 8.2.1.2).

The following terms occur in the Pāli list but are not present or extant in Gāndhārī: *maṃsa, nhāru, vakka, yakana, pitta, semha, meda, vasā, mutta.* The Tibetan version contains equivalent terms for each of these items in the Pāli: *sha, chu ba, mkhal ma, mcher pa, mkhris pa, bad kan, tshil, zhag, gcin.* The Sanskrit list from the Śikṣāsamuccaya includes eleven items not found in Gāndhārī: *māṃsa, snāyu, śirā, vṛkkā, āmāśaya, pakvāśaya, yakṛt, vasā, medaḥ, pitta, śleṣman, prasrāva.* Chinese (MĀ) has seven such items: 肉, 筋, 腎, 肝, 肪, 膽, 小便. Chinese (SĀ) has fourteen: 肉, 筋, 脈, 肝, 腎, 生藏, 熟藏, 沫, 肪, 脂, 痰, 癊, 汁, 溺. Therefore, six items are found in all versions of the list discussed here except Gāndhārī: *vṛkkā, yakṛt, vasā, māṃsa, snāyu, prasrāva.*

The precise meaning of the terms in these lists is often difficult to determine. This may well be due to insufficient knowledge on the part of those involved in the transmission of

these lists with respect to the finer details of human anatomy. Another, perhaps related factor is that terms for the internal organs have a general tendency "to shift their meaning from one part of the body to another which is next to it" (Sagart 2004: 71). Such problems no doubt also contributed to the differences between the various versions of these lists.

2.2.1.1.3. Concluding Formula

The description of perception of foulness and each of the following perceptions concludes with a similar formula:

*ya ta̱sabhu̱da̱sa pugalasa jita̱sa ekagra̱da avrikṣev(*a) a(*ya) vuca̱di aśua̱sa̱ña-sahaga̱da̱s(*ama̱si)* (ll. 4–5)

*ya ta̱sabhu̱da̱sa pugalasa jita̱sa e̱kagra̱da avi(*kṣeva aya vuca)di maraṇasaña-sahaga̱da̱sama̱si* (l. 7)

*ya ta̱sabhu̱da̱sa pugal(*a)s(*a jita̱sa ekagra̱da a)vikṣeva aya vuca̱di ahara-paḍikulasa̱ña̱sahaga̱da̱sama̱si* (l. 9)

*(*ya) t(*a)sabhu̱da̱sa pugalasa cita̱sa ekagra̱da avikṣeva aya vuca̱di sarvaloge aṇ(*avi)ra̱da̱sa̱ña̱sahaga̱di̱sama̱si* (ll. 14–14^M)

In the Pāli parallel this section concludes, "*iti imasmiṃ kāye asubhānupassī viharati. ayaṃ vuccat'ānanda, asubhasaññā*" (AN V 109.16–27), 'thus he dwells, seeing the foulness in this body. This, Ānanda, is called the perception of foulness.' Two formulas found elsewhere in Pāli may be related to the Gāndhārī formula, both are found in connection with mental concentration. First, from the Cūḷavedalla-sutta: *yā kho āvuso visākha cittassa ekaggatā ayaṃ samādhi* (MN I 301.13), "One-pointedness of mind, venerable Visākha, is concentration." Second, from the Dhammasaṅgaṇī[14]:

yā tasmiṃ samaye cittassa ṭhiti saṇṭhiti avaṭṭhiti avisāhāro avikkhepo avisāhaṭamānasatā samatho samādhindriyaṃ samādhibalaṃ sammāsamādhi—ayaṃ tasmiṃ samaye cittassekaggatā hoti (Dhs 10.33–6)

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[14] I am grateful to Mark Allon for bringing this second example to my attention.

It is the stability, firmness, steadfastness, undivertedness, undistractedness, unperturbed mentality, tranquility, faculty of concentration, power of concentration, and right concentration of mind at this time, which is the one-pointedness of mind at this time.

2.2.1.2. The Perception of Death

As mentioned above, the definitions of the remaining three perceptions differ entirely from those found in Pāli and Chinese. Thus beside the introductory and closing formulas (see §§ 2.2.1.1.1, 2.2.1.1.3), the presentation of the perception of death consists only of a brief statement regarding the impermanence of mortal life. This passage does not occur in Pāli, nor have I been able to find it in Sanskrit or Chinese sources. Related passages, however, are common enough. For example, the Paṭhamamaraṇassati-sutta (AN III 303–6) recommends being mindful of death. Another related sequence comes from the commentary to the Dīgha-nikāya, where the opposite sentiment is expressed: "'I lived long, I'm living long, I will live long…', in this way the intoxication of life is the making of pride (*ciraṃ jīviṃ, ciraṃ jīvāmi, ciraṃ jīvissāmi…ti evaṃ mānakaraṇaṃ jīvitamado;* Sv III 1005.33–5). The perception of death is discussed in detail in the Visudhimagga (229–39).

2.2.1.3. The Perception of the Repulsiveness of Food

The opening of this section lacks the introduction seen in the previous two descriptions. This may be intentional, as a monk would not normally be confronted with food in the kinds of solitary places described in the introductory formula (see above § 2.2.1.1.1). In this case we simply have the question, "What is the concentration connected with the perception of the repulsiveness of food?" The concluding formula is given in full (see § 2.2.1.1.3 for a comparison of the four concluding formulas). This leaves one and a half lines for the description of this perception itself. A lengthy account of this perception is given in the Visuddhimagga, but it does not overlap with the present text (Vism 341–47; Ñāṇamoli 1956: 337–43). In Gāndhārī the description of this perception seems to instruct the monk to view

his food in terms of the digestive processes, albeit out of sequence, that is, feces, saliva, vomit, and putrid bodily secretions.

2.2.1.4. The Perception of Non-delight in the Entire World

Like the account of the preceding perception, this definition lacks the full introduction. Again, this may be deliberate, as a solitary place would not seem to be conducive to the practice recommended by this meditation. The concluding formula is given in full. Once again, while this perception itself is held in common with other Buddhist traditions (see § 8.1.2), the description found here appears to be unique, as this definition of 'the perception of non-delight in the entire world' is not found in Pāli or Chinese. The Visuddhimagga does not mention this perception at all.

The main part of this section consists of three grades of visualizations. The first is a series of three types of community which should each be visualized as their respective negation. This is followed by a sequence of six pleasure inducing geographical features which should not be viewed sources of enjoyment. Finally, in what seems to be a slightly corrupted and perhaps also abbreviated portion of the text, these former visualizations are extended in all directions.

The sequence of communities with their negations are: "village/non-village, town/non-town, district/non-district" (*gama/(*agama), (*ṇa)g(*a)ra/ aṇagara, jaṇavaḏa/ajaṇavaḏa;* l. 10). The point of the instruction seems to be that a monk, regardless of where he might be, can imagine that he is alone, perhaps in one of the isolated places identified in the formulaic introduction (see § 2.2.1.1.1). In such a situation he will not be distracted by worldly delights. A very similar progression is found in the Aṅgulimāla-sutta: "*tena gāmāpi agāmā katā, nigamāpi anigamā katā, janapadāpi ajanapadā katā*" (MN II 98.12–3), 'by him, a village is made a non-village, a market town is made a non-market town, and a district is made a non-district.' In this case, however, the context is physical destruction at the hands of the bandit Aṅgulimāla, rather than a meditative excercise. The Pāli here differs in having *nigama* 'small town' (PTSD s.v. p. 354a) as the second term rather than *nagara* '(fortified) town' (PTSD s.v. p. 345a). In the Paloka-sutta we find a similar sequence with four items: *gāmāpi agāmā honti,*

nigamāpi anigamā honti, nagarāpi anagarā honti, janapadāpi ajanapadā honti (AN I 159.32–160.2). The context here is again different, being social decay and consequent loss of human life. This list has all the terms in Gāndhārī as well as *nigama* seen in the first example.

The second sequence of locations is: "a delightful park, a delightful grove, a delightful lotus pond, a delightful river, delightful grounds, a delightful mountain" (*arama-ramaṇea, vaṇa-ramaṇea, pukharaṇa-rama(*ṇ)e(*a), (*ṇaḏi-ra)maṇea, bhumi-ramaṇea, pravaḏa-ramaṇea,* 12; on the translation of this compound see text note on *arama-ramaṇea,* Chapter 8). A related, but shorter set occurs in Pāli: *ārāma-rāmaṇeyyakaṃ vana-rāmaṇeyyakaṃ bhūmi-rāmaṇeyyakaṃ pokkharaṇī-rāmaṇeyyakan ti* (e.g., DN II 333.16–17). This set of four terms, in this order, occurs fifteen times in Pāli. A different list *ārāma-rāmaṇeyyakaṃ, uyyāna-rāmaṇeyyakaṃ* (a delightful garden), *bhūmi-rāmaṇeyyakaṃ* occurs just once in the *Niruttidīpanīpāṭha* (316.3-4)[15], but, given the late composition of this work, its relevance for the present discussion is minimal. Another similar sequence occurs in the Milindapañha: *ārām'-uyyānopavana-taḷāka-pokkharaṇi-sampannaṃ ṇaḏī-pabbata-vana-rāmaṇeyyakaṃ* (Mil I 1.15–17). Although the structure is rather different here, it does include most of terms found in our Gāndhārī text, and in the same order, indicating that at some level there may have been some such formulaic list of pleasure-connected places. On the basis of the Milindapañha parallel, I have tentatively reconstructed *ṇaḏi* as the missing item in the lacuna in the Gāndhārī text. It is interesting to note that this text of course has a connection to the Gandhāra region as King Milinda is identified with the Indo-Greek king Menander. Each of these lists of places is followed by a run of four verbs, two positive and two negated: *ukaṭaḏi parikasaḏi ṇa ramaḏi ṇa aviramaḏi.* This sequence of verbs is not found in Pāli.

Immediately following is the formula "He tames and controls [his] mind [with regard to] that, and makes it pliant and workable. Having tamed and controlled his mind [with regard to] that, and made it pliant and workable…" (*ṣo te cite dameḏi paridameḏi rmaḏ(*o karoḏi*

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[15] The Niruttidīpanīpāṭha is a treatise on Pāli grammar included with the other non-canonical works on the VRI-CD, but not mentioned in the handbooks of Pāli literature by Norman (1983) and von Hinüber (1996). It is a modern work by Ledi Cha ra to' Ñana (1846/7–1923/4). The text included on the VRI-CD is based on a printed edition from 1970.

kamaṇio so te) cito damita paradamita rmaḏo karita kamaṇio; l.13). This formula is found in Pāli:

> *so imesu catūsu iddhipādesu cittaṃ paribhāveti paridameti, muduṃ karoti kammaniyaṃ. so imesu catūsu iddhipādesu cittaṃ paribhāvetvā paridametvā muduṃ karitvā kammaniyaṃ…* (Paṭis I 111.10–2)

> He completely develops and completely educates his cognizance in these four bases for success, and makes it malleable and wieldy. Having completely developed and completely educated his cognizance in these four bases for success, and made it malleable and wieldy,… (Ñāṇamoli 1982: 112)

The presentation of the fourth perception ends with an instruction that extends this practice in all directions: "thus above, below, across, in every direction, everywhere" (*udva aṣo tiḏa sarvaḏo sarvaḏatavi;* 14). This draws on a stock expressions in Pāli, *uddhaṃ adho tiriyaṃ* (e.g., DN III 268.21). *Sarvaḏo* certainly is cognate with Pāli *sabbato.* The final term *sarvaḏatavi,* is obviously related, but the underlying form is not clear (see text notes § 8.2.4.2). This expression itself is also followed by the sequence of four verbs mentioned above. In this case, the subsequent formula is not included. Possibly it has been abbreviated here, or it was not intended since the formula itself is a linking device.

2.2.2. The Natuspahu-sutra

The text of the Natuspahu-sūtra and its Pāli, Chinese, and Tibetan parallels are treated in detail in Chapter 9. This sūtra, as well as the two that follow it concern the five aggregates (*skandha*), and so may be extracts from the Division on the Aggregates (*skandha-varga;* see table 5) of an underlying version of the Connected Discourses (see § 1.2.5.1). This sūtra recommends that the practitioner not regard his constituent aggregates as his own; thus the sūtra is called, 'Not Yours' (P *natumhāka*). The text of this sūtra may be divided into four parts: the setting or *nidāna* (line 15), the statement of the teaching (lines 16–7), a simile (lines 17–9), and a reprise of the teaching (lines 19–21).

2.2.2.1. The Setting

The sūtra begins with a common abbreviated form of the Śrāvastī setting. The same abbreviation is found in Senior Scroll 17, line 8. The different printed editions of the Pāli Saṃyutta-nikāya vary in the precise formulation of the setting to the Natumhāka-sutta. The Pāli reading that is the closest match to the Gāndhārī is found in the Burmese, Nālanda, and VRI editions; *sāvatthinidānaṃ*. The other printed editions differ as follows: *sāvatthiyaṃ. tatra kho* (Kh^e; S^e); *sāvatthi tatra voca* (E^e); *sāvatthiyaṃ tatra kho bhagavā bhikkhū āmantesi 'bhikkhavo'ti 'bhadante'ti te bhikkhū bhagavato paccassosuṃ. bhagavā etadavoca* (C^e).

The third and fourth sūtras on this manuscript also begin with abbreviated forms of the Śrāvastī setting: *śava[st]i ṇi* (line 22, see § 10.2) and *bhayava śavasti v.hara* (line 28, see § 11.2). Allon points out that these and other abbreviated forms among the Senior manuscripts all refer to the common Śrāvastī-Jetavana setting rather than to the alternative Sāvatthi-Pubbārāma setting (Allon 2001: 227), the full form of which in Pāli is *evam me sutaṃ. ekaṃ samayaṃ bhagavā sāvatthiyaṃ viharati pubbārāme migāramātupāsāde,* etc. (e.g., SN V 222.5–7). The full version of the Śrāvastī-Jetavana setting in Pāli is:

> *evaṃ me sutaṃ. ekaṃ samayaṃ bhagavā sāvatthiyaṃ viharati jetavane anāthapiṇḍikassa ārāme. tatra kho bhagavā bhikkhū āmantesi bhikkhavo ti. bhadante ti te bhikkhū bhagavato paccassosuṃ. bhagavā etad avoca.* (E.g., AN I 1.5–9)
>
> "Thus have I heard. On one occasion the Blessed One was dwelling at Sāvatthī, in Jeta's Grove Anāthapiṇḍika's monastery. There the Blessed One addressed the monks thus: "Monks!" "Lord!" those monks replied. The Blessed One said this…" (Ñāṇaponika and Bodhi 1999: 33)

The longest version of this setting preserved in Gāndhārī is found in Senior Fragment 22:

> *evameva śuḍa eka samae bhayava śava[st]i[a] vihara[ḍi] je[ḍa]vaṇ[o aṇaṣapi]asa arama tatra u bhayava bhikhu amatreḍi ti bhikhu bhayava pacaśoṣe bha[yava]* (22 II.18–20).

A corresponding setting is preserved in a fragment of the Sanskrit Nagaropama-sūtra, which belongs to the Nidānasaṃyukta of the Saṃyuktāgama.

> *evaṃ   mayā   śrutam   eka(smin   samaye   bhagavāñ   śrā)vastyāṃ   viharati   sma*
> *(jetavane 'nāthapiṇḍadasyārāme. tatra) bhagavān bhikṣūn āmantray(ati.)*

<div align="right">(Tripāṭhī 1962: 94; Bongard-Levin et al. 1996: 76)</div>

The Chinese parallel reproduces a standardized form of the Śrāvastī setting in full, as do many of the sūtras in T 99 having this setting: 如是我聞一時。佛住舍衛國祇樹給孤獨園爾時。世尊告諸比丘。 (T 2 no. 99 70b1–2). Following the punctuation given in the Taishō,[16] I translate as follows: "Thus I have heard at one time: the Buddha was dwelling at Śrāvastī in the Jeta grove, Anāthapiṇḍika's Park. At that time the Blessed one said to all the monks:" The reading in the Korean edition differs from the Taishō in the use of the orthographic variant 尒 (K 18 no. 650 804a16.4) for 爾 (on the equivalence of these two signs see Brough 1973: 258 n. 36).

The partial parallels to this sūtra preserved in Sanskrit and Tibetan do not include a setting.

2.2.2.2. "What is Not Yours," 1

The bulk of this text consists of variations on a single key phrase "[What], is not yours, you should abandon that. When abandoned, that will be for [your] benefit and ease", the details of which are inconsistent in Gāndhārī:

> … *ṇa tuspahu ta pracajaaṣa ta prahiṇa hiḏae suhae bhavi(*śaḏi)* (16)
>
> … *ṇa tuspahu ta pajaaṣa ta prahiṇa hiḏae suhae bhaviśa⟨*ḏi⟩* (16)
>
> … *ṇa tuspahu ta pacaaṣa ta (*prahiṇa h)iḏae suhae bhaviśaḏi* (17)
>
> … *ṇa tuspahu ta pacahaṣa ta pahiṇa hiḏae suhae bhaviśa(*ḏi)* (19–20)
>
> … *ṇa tuspahu ta pracaeṣa ta pahiṇa hiḏae suhae bhaviśaḏi* (20)
>
> … *⟨*ṇa⟩ tuspahu ta pacahaṣa ta prah(*iṇa hiḏae suha)e bhaviśaḏi* (21)

This six-way comparison shows two cases of scribal omission: *⟨*ḏi⟩, ⟨*ṇa⟩,* as well as spelling variation in the fourth and sixth words, *pracajaaṣa,* and *prahiṇa*. The result is that no two lines are the same, though they were presumably intended to be equivalent. That is to

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[16] On the perennial problem of the punctuation of the setting formula, see Brough 1950.

say, the scribe no doubt understood that exactly the same phrase was being repeated, but was not concerned to reproduce it in identically each time he wrote it[17].

In Pāli the corresponding phrase consistently reads *na tumhākaṃ taṃ pajahatha. taṃ vo pahīnaṃ hitāya sukhāya bhavissati* (e.g., 33.21–2). This changes only when the expression is shifted to the plural to agree with *saṅkhārā* (conditioned forces): *na tumhākaṃ te pajahatha. te vo pahīnā hitāya sukhāya bhavissanti* (e.g., 34.1–2).

The Chinese version also shows some variation in the five occurrences of this expression:

非汝所應<u>法</u>。當盡捨離。<u>捨彼法</u>已。長夜安樂。(70b2–3)

非汝所應。當盡捨離。<u>斷彼法</u>已。長夜安樂。(70b4–5)

非汝所應<u>者</u>。當盡捨離。<u>捨離</u>已。長夜安樂。(70b8–9)

非汝所應。當盡捨離。<u>捨離</u>已。長夜安樂。(70b10)

非汝所應。當<u>速</u>捨離。<u>捨彼法</u>已。長夜安樂。(70b11–12)

These slight alterations in the wording need not suggest variations in the archetype, but rather, indicate unintentional lapses in an unpolished translation[18]—a charge not out of character with the Zá āhán jīng 雜阿含經 (T 99) as a whole. In no way does this situation indicate a direct connection to the Gāndhārī version.

Having said that, it should be noted that the Chinese includes some terms which suggest a different archetype than we find in Pāli and Gāndhārī. The occurrence of *fǎ* 法 (70b2) may indicate an underlying *dharma* (BCSD s.v. 法 1966 p. 713a). A version of this phrase which incorporates the term *dharma* is quoted in the Abhidharmakośavyākhyā: "*yad bhikṣo na tvaṃ sa te dharmaḥ prahātavya… rūpaṃ bhadanta nāhaṃ. sa me dharmaḥ prahātavyaḥ*" (AKV 48.2–5). The equivalent term *chos* (= Skt. *dharma*) is also included in the quotation of this sutra in the Abhidharmakośaṭīkopāyika-nāma: "*gang khyod ma yin pa'i chos de khyod kyis spang bar bya'o*" (AKU 21b5).

The Chinese version also consistently includes the term *chángyè* 長夜 'for a long time' (lit. 'long night'; = Skt. *dīrgha-rātram,* BCSD s.v. 長 3956 p. 1195a). This is not found in the

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[17] Compare the multiple spellings for Skt. *śreyas* in the Dhp-G^K, Brough 1962: § 44.

[18] I am grateful to Tien-chang Shih for sharing her thoughts on this matter.

Gāndhārī or any of the Pāli versions from the Saṃyutta-nikāya, but is found in both of the other Pāli versions: *taṃ vo pahīnaṃ dīgharattaṃ hitāya sukhāya bhavissati* (MN I 140.34; Nidd I 438.6–7). The Tibetan parallel also includes this term, *yun ring po* (AKU 21b5) = *dīrgharātram* (Mvy 8319).

The Tibetan parallel also shows slight but again insignificant variation between the five instances of this formula:

> … *khyod ma yin pa'i chos de khyod kyis spang bar bya'o. don te khyod kyis spangs na yun ring po'i don dang phan pa dang bde bar 'gyur ro.* (AKU 21b5–6)

> … *bdag ma lags te, chos de spangs na yun ring po'i don dang phan pa dang bde bar 'gyur ro.* (21b6–7, 7)

> … *bdag ma yin te, chos de khyod kyis spang bar bya'o. chos de khyod kyis spangs na yun ring po'i don dang phan pa dang bde bar 'gyur ro.* (21a1–2, 2–3)

The differences here involve contextually related alternations: *khyod* 'you' with *bdag* 'self'; the genitive particle *'i* with the semifinal particle *te; don* 'object' with *chos* 'phenomena'; *yin* 'to be' with the respectful form *lags*. The second and third times this formula is used, the phrase *chos de khyod kyis spang bar bya'o* has been omitted, a well as *khyod kyis* from the next segment.

It should also be noted that Tibetan always has three terms for the outcome of this practice whereas the other versions have two: Gāndhārī has *hiḏae suhae,* which corresponds to Pāli *hitāya sukhāya,* and Chinese *ān lè* 安樂; whereas, Tibetan has *don, phan pa,* and *bde ba*. *Phan pa* and *bde ba* are the normal correspondants to Sanskrit *hita* and *sukha* respectively (Mvy. 3440, 1914). This leaves *don* which is normally equivalent to Sanskrit *artha,* but also has the sense of a particular profit or blessing obtained (Jä s.v. *don,* 259a). In this sense it frequently occurs with *phan pa* and *bde ba,* which may expain its occurrence here, and so need not indicate a different recension.

A fragment in the Schøyen Collection of the Saḍāyatanavibhaṅga-sūtra preserves a similar phrase: "*idaṃ vo hitāya idaṃ vo sukhāya idaṃ prajahatha idaṃm* [sic] *upasaṃpadya*

viharatha" (MS 2375/17 line 4),[19] "This is for your benefit, this is for your ease, you should abandon this. Having attained this, you should dwell…."

2.2.2.3. The Jeḍa-grove Simile

This simile is built on a comparison of "grass, sticks, branches, leaves, and foliage" (*triṇa, kaṭha, śaha, patra, palaśa;* 18) with the identification of a self. As such, one is tempted to see the five items in the Gāndhārī list as somehow corresponding to the five aggregates. The citation of this sūtra in the index scrolls has *śahakaṭhapalaśap. [ṇ .i/.e]* (7r 16), which omits *triṇa* and has switched the order of *kaṭha* and *śaha, patra* and *palaśa*. This is likely to reflect a lapse in memory, as it appears that the scribe wrote the summary list on the index scrolls in advance and then prepared the full texts in consultation with his archetype (see § 1.5).

The Pāli parallel has only four items in its list: *tiṇa-kaṭṭha-sākhā-palāsam,* with no parallel to Gāndhārī *patra* (Pāli *patta*). Unfortunately the Sanskrit fragment mentioned above contains only the first member of the compound. In Chinese, this sequence of items is abridged to simply *zhītiáo* 枝條 'branches and twigs'. There are partial matches for this compound in the Abhidharmakośabhāṣya and -vyākhyā, which have *śākhāpatrapalāśaṃ* (AKBh(P) 168.15–6; AKV 329.9) corresponding to Chinese *zhīyèzhìmiǎo* 枝葉至杪 "branches, leaves, up to twigs" (T 29 no. 1559 p. 217b10) and *zhītiáojíyè* 枝條及葉 "branches, twigs, and leaves" (T 29 no. 1579 p. 298b11–2) in their respective translations. This suggests that in the translation of the Vyākhyā, 枝條 corresponds to *śākhā-patra,* but it would be too much to extrapolate from this that the source text of the Zá āhán jīng was more like the Gāndhārī than the Pāli on this point. The Tibetan parallel omits the simile altogether.

2.2.2.4. "What is Not Yours," 2

This section consists almost entirely of a repetition of the opening statement in lines 16–7. For details of the formula, *ṇa tuspahu ta pacahaṣa ta pahiṇa hiḍae suhae bhaviśa(*ḍi),* see the discussion in lines 16–7 above.

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[19] This fragment was identified by Peter Skilling. The transliteration is by Gudrun Melzer.

Unlike the Pāli parallel, the Gāndhārī here repeats the initial line, "you should abandon what is not yours." It then goes on to specify that "form is not yours." followed by the remaining aggregates, whereas the Pāli parallel gives the instruction for the five aggregates only. In this respect, the Gāndhārī resembles the Chinese, which repeats the general instruction after the simile before repeating again with the five aggregates. The Tibetan, like the Pāli, goes straight into the five aggregates at this point.

2.2.2.5. Closing Statement

The sutra closes with "this is what the Lord said" (*idam eyi bhayava;* 21). The same expression, *hidam eyi bhayava* (27–27^M), also concludes the next sutra. This corresponds to Sanskrit *idam avocad bhagavān*/Pāli *idam avoca bhagavā.* The full closing formula is, in Pāli, *idam avoca bhagavā. attamanā te bhikkhū bhagavato bhāsitaṃ abhinandun ti* (AN I 276.23–6). A Gāndhārī parallel to this is, *idam u bhayavadu atamaṇa te bhikhu bhayavadeṇa bhaṣido abhiṇadi* (EĀ-G 36–7; see Allon 2001: 242–3). As in the case of the introduction, the Chinese version of the Zá āhán jīng regularly has the conclusion in full: 佛説此經已。諸比丘聞佛所説。歡喜奉行 "When the Buddha had finished speaking this sūtra, the monks heard what the Buddha said, then they rejoiced and accepted it." However, in this case, the Chinese text does not finish here, but continues with a separate teaching (see Appendix B), so that the closing formula does not appear until the end of this longer version of the sūtra.

2.2.3. The Nivriḍabahulo-sutra

The text of the third sūtra on the manuscript, the Nivriḍabahulo-sutra, is edited and discussed in Chapter 10. This short sūtra aims at leading one to awakening through a correct understanding of the five aggregates (P *khandha*). Like the preceding sūtra, the setting is given in an abbreviated form (for details see above § 2.2.2.1). The teaching consists of a three-stage progression of key terms that are to be applied to each of the aggregates, beginning with living "full of disgust" *nivriḍabahulo* (P *nibbidābahulo;* lines 23–4). The next stage is "fully understanding," *pariyaṇati* (P *parijānāti;* lines 24–5), followed by being

"released," *parimucadi* (P *parimuccati;* lines 25–7). The Gāndhārī text closely follows the Pāli and Chinese parallels with some exceptions as noted below.

2.2.3.1. Living Full of Disgust with Respect to Form etc.

The Gāndhārī version opens with a formula corresponding to Pāli *kulaputtassa saddhā agārasmā anagāriyaṃ pabbajitassa* (e.g., SN II 281.10–11). However, the modern editions of the parallel Pāli text, including the Burmese edition (Bᵉ II 147.14; see Appendix A § 3.1), have here simply *kulaputtassa*, i.e., "for a noble son". Interestingly, the English translation by the Myanmar Piṭaka Association reads "a worthy man who joins the Order renouncing hearth and home for the homeless life of a bhikkhu out of religious conviction…" (1996: 361), which clearly reflects the longer construction seen in the Gāndhārī. The Chinese also has this formula in full, 信心善男子正信．非家．出家。 (T 2 no. 99 12a19–21). The rest of this section closely parallels the Pāli and Chinese versions.

2.2.3.2. Fully Understanding Form, etc.

The key phrase in this section is applied to each of the five aggregates in turn, though here, as in Pāli, the text is abbreviated. The details of the abbreviation differ between Gāndhārī and Pāli. The Chinese parallel omits this section and moves directly from "cultivating disgust" (*xiūyàn* 修厭) to "obtaining release" (*délí* 得離). In Gāndhārī and Pāli this passage is based both on a progression from 'living full of disgust' (G *ṇivriḍabahule viharate*/P *nibbidābahulo viharanto*; indicated by A in the formulas below) to 'he understands' (G *pariyaṇati*/P *parijānāti*; B in the formulas), and a progression which applies these actions to the aggregates (1–5 in the formulas). In Gāndhārī the both actions are treated with respect to just the form aggregate, then they are repeated with remaining aggregates. In Pāli the first action is connected with form followed by the remaining aggregates. Only then is the second action illustrated. The following formulas summarize the arrangements:

Gāndhārī   1A→1B, 2-3-4-5A→5B

Pāli   1A, 2-3-4-5A→1B, 2-3-4-5B

2.2.3.3. Released from Form etc.

The Chinese parallel picks up again in this section, but unlike Pāli and Gāndhārī, it repeats the opening formula (see above § 2.2.3.1). The key term in this part, as mentioned above, is *parimucaḏi.* In both Gāndhārī and Pāli, all phrases containing this verb have inverted the normal syntax so that the verb comes first. This effect is not reflected in the Chinese version.

The conclusion of this sūtra includes the standard sequence of eight sufferings connected with this world from which one can be released "birth, ageing, sickness and death, grief, lamentations, suffering, despair, and frustration":

*jaḏi jara viasi mar(*a)ṇ(*a)s(*pa) śoḵa paridev(*a dukha domaṇaṣa) uayaṣa*
jātiyā jarāya maraṇena sokehi paridevehi dukkhehi domanassehi upāyāsehi.
生. 老. 病. 死. 憂. 悲. 惱. 苦

This formula is also cited in another manuscript by this scribe, where the reading is *jaḏi…jara…viaṣi-maraṇa-śoḵa-pariḏeva-dukha-domaṇasta-uayasa* (RS 20.22–4), as well as in the Kurram casket inscription, *jadi-praca[ga] jara-marana-śoga-parideva-dukha-dormanasta-uvagasa* (CKI 153.3B–C).

2.2.3.4. Closing Statement

Like the Natuspahu-sūtra, this sūtra concludes with the standard expression *hiḏam eyi bhayava* (see above § 2.2.2.4). The printed editions of the Pāli parallel do not include a closing statement here, while the Chinese does.

2.2.4. The *Vasijaḍa-sutra

I refer to the last sūtra on this manuscript as the *Vasijaḍa-sutra, on the basis of the title of the parallel text in Pāli. This sūtra is discussed in detail in Chapter 11. The teaching again concerns the five aggregates but this time, says that liberation depends not only on a correct apprehension of these five, but also on the cultivation of the factors that contribute to enlightenment (*bodhipakṣyadharma*). The extant Gāndhārī text may be divided into five parts. The first is the setting (line 28). The second part introduces the aggregates which should be

known and seen correctly (lines 29–31). The third part adds the proviso that this alone may not be enough, as the cultivation of wholesome states (i.e., the *bodhipakṣyadharma*) is also necessary (lines 31–5). This is done in the form of a dialogue between a certain monk (*añeare bhikhu*) and the Buddha. The fourth part is a restatement of the third, only this time the experience of a monk is used to illustrate the teaching (lines 35–40). The final part extant in Gāndhārī is the beginning of a simile intended to illustrate the teaching given in parts two and three (lines 40–2).

2.2.4.1. The Setting

As in the previous two sūtras the setting is Śrāvastī. The phrasing here (*bhayava śavasti v(*i)hara⟨*di⟩*) is slightly different from the previous occurrences but still represents a contraction of the full formula (see above § 2.2.2.1). The Pāli version agrees with setting of the Gāndhārī version, whereas, the Chinese differs: "Thus I have heard. At one time the Buddha was dwelling in the Kuru country, at the *Citragopāla settlement[20] (雜色牧牛聚落)." This setting is a hapax in the Taishō, and does not correspond to any setting in Pāli, or even match any known location.

2.2.4.2. One Who Knows and Sees

This section of the text is built around the statement "I say the destruction of the taints is for one who knows [and] sees". This pattern occurs five times in this manuscript up to line 32, once in the negative. The Pāli and Chinese parallels share this statement:

Gāndhārī	*jaṇasa bhikṣave paśaṣa asavaṇa kṣao vaḍemi*
Pāli	*jānato haṃ, bhikkhave, passato āsavānaṃ khayaṃ vadāmi*
Chinese	我以知見故。得諸漏盡。

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[20] This reconstruction is perhaps the most likely one, judging by the equivalents found in BCSD: s.v. 雜色 4058 p. 1230a, *citra, caitra, miśra-varṇa, raṅga viśva-varṇa, śabala;* s.v. 牧牛 2226 p. 810b, *gopālaka, gopa, gorakṣya;* s.v. 聚落 2971 p. 958b, *grāma, nigama, janapada-pradeśa,* etc. I have not been able to match any combination of these possibilities with a known toponym in Pali.

The Gāndhārī version lacks the first person pronoun complementing the verb *vademi,* but this is included in Pāli (*haṃ*). Chinese, on the other hand, seems to have turned this pronoun into the subject of the phrase, "Because I know and see, [I have] obtained the destruction of the taints". This introduction is followed in all three versions by the cliché of the arising and destruction of the aggregates: "this is form, this is the arising of form, this is the (*passing away) of form," etc.

2.2.4.3. The Non-cultivation of the Wholesome States, 1

This section is not included in either the Pāli or Chinese versions. However, except for the first two lines, it is practically identical to the next section, which does appear in the parallel versions. Here our text introduces a monk as interlocutor who questions the Buddha regarding the opening statement, and thus provides a pretext for the teaching on non-cultivation.

2.2.4.4. The Non-cultivation of the Wholesome States, 2

This section differs from the previous one only in the first two lines (*bhavaṇaṇuyoka… ta kiṣa eḏu* 35–37). In this case, the opening lines present the main text of this section as the Buddha's response to the inquiry which introduced the previous section. As noted above, the Pāli and Chinese parallel versions have only this response, omitting the monk's question.

The exchange "Due to the non-cultivation of the wholesome states." "Of which wholesome states?" (*abhaviḏatva kuśalaṇa dharmaṇa kaḏareṣe kuśalaṇa dharmaṇa*) is also absent from both the Pāli and Chinese versions. Instead, these versions proceed directly from the question "Due to the non-cultivation of what?" (*kissa abhāvitattā/ bù xiūxí hédĕng* 不修習何等) into the enumeration of factors that contribute to enlightenment (*bodhipakṣya-dharma*). It is this list of factors which provides the clearest evidence of a sectarian difference between the Gāndhārī text and the parallel versions, details of which are given above (§ 1.2.5.3).

2.2.4.5. The Hen Simile

In this simile the monk's situation, in lacking cultivation of the factors that contribute to enlightenment, is compared to a brooding hen. All versions include this simile, but there are some minor differences in the wording. Pāli does not include any parallel to the time expression in Gāndhārī, *ṇa kaliṇa kalo,* while Chinese does, *suíshí* 隨時 (= Sanskrit *kālena kālam,* BCSD s.v. 4037 p. 1222). However, the Chinese version differs from both Indic texts by adding the gloss *xiāoxī lěng nuǎn* 消息冷暖 "fluctuating [between] cold and warm". However, I think this is likely to be an insertion on the part of Guṇabhadra's translation team to clarify the lack of result for the hen's brooding, rather than reflecting anything in their archetype.

2.3. Relationships Between the Parallel Versions

The results of the above comparison of the sūtras preserved on this manuscript with their parallel versions in Pāli, Chinese, Tibetan, and Sanskrit are summarized in table 11. The table shows each episode of the Gāndhārī text with columns for each of the parallels, identified by language. The following sigla are used to indicate the relationships: hyphen (-) indicates the absence of a parallel; the not-equal sign (≠) indicates a significant difference in wording with respect to the Gāndhārī; and a circle (○) indicates the version is more or less the same as Gāndhārī. I have put some signs in brackets to show that the parallel is quoted from another context. In the case of the setting and closing statement, I have not indicated the status of Tibetan and Sanskrit parallels as it is meaningless to evaluate these when they do not occur in context.

It is clear from the table that the Gāndhārī text is not identical with any other tradition but differs from all of the available parallels both in the inclusion of episodes and in the details of the wording. In almost all cases, Pāli provides the closest match to the Gāndhārī. The most extensive differences between these two come in the S̱aña-sūtra. However, as this sūtra appears to be unique to the Gandhāran tradition, it is understandable that what partial parallels we do find are less exact. The differences in the next three sūtras from their parallels in the Saṃyutta-nikāya are in all cases rather minor. The differences from the

Table 11. Summary of relationships between the Gāndhārī text and parallel versions

Episode in the Gāndhārī text	Pāli	Chinese	Tibetan	Sanskrit
Ṣaña-sūtra				
Perception of Foulness (§ 2.2.1.1)				
Going to Meditate (§ 2.2.1.1.1)	[≠]	-	[≠]	[≠]
The Parts of the Body (§ 2.2.1.1.2)	≠	[≠]	≠	[≠]
Concluding Formula (§ 2.2.1.1.3)	≠	-	≠	-
Perception of Death (§ 2.2.1.2)	-	-	-	-
Perception of Food (§ 2.2.1.3)	-	-	-	-
Perception of Non-delight (§ 2.2.1.4)	-	-	-	-
Natuspahu-sūtra				
Setting (§ 2.2.2.1)	○	○	-	-
What is Not Yours 1 (§ 2.2.2.2)	○	≠	≠	[≠]
Jeda-grove Simile (§ 2.2.2.3)	≠	≠	-	-
What is Not Yours 2 (§ 2.2.2.4)	○	≠	≠	-
Closing Statement (§ 2.2.2.5)	-	○	-	-
Nivriḍabahulo-sūtra				
Setting (see § 2.2.2.1)	○	○	-	-
Living Full of Disgust (§ 2.2.3.1)	≠	○	-	-
Fully Understanding (§ 2.2.3.2)	○	-	-	-
Released from Form (§ 2.2.3.3)	○	○	-	-
Closing Statement	-	○	-	-
*Vasijaḍa-sutra				
Setting (§ 2.2.4.1)	○	≠	-	-
One Who Knows and Sees (§ 2.2.4.2)	○	≠	-	-
Non-cultivation 1 (§ 2.2.4.3)	-	-	-	-
Non-cultivation 2 (§ 2.2.4.4)	≠	≠	-	-
Hen Simile (§ 2.2.4.5)	≠	○	-	-

Chinese Saṃyuktāgama parallels appear to be more significant, and may indicate a more distant relationship between these traditions. The Tibetan and Sanskrit parallels are of minor interest as they have been selected from different sources wherever a partial match has been possible, and they are very incomplete. The two Tibetan parallels come from different texts (see §§ 8.1.2, 9.1.2). The partial parallel to the Ṣaña-sūtra was itself translated from Pāli and so, naturally, is close to the Pāli tradition. The parallel to the Natuspahu-sūtra comes from the Upāyikaṭīkā. Since the quotations in this text are said to be connected with the Sarvāstivāda, it is not surprising to find that this parallel is closer to the Chinese tradition (see § 1.2.2).

2.4. Conclusions

The results of the study of the arrangements of the available texts of the Connected Discourses (§ 1.4) may now be compared with the results of the above comparison of the contents of Senior scroll 5 with the Pāli, Chinese, Tibetan and Sanskrit parallels (§ 2.3). In chapter one, it was seen that while the selection of Saṃyuktāgama-type sūtras found in the Senior Collection does show a connection to the arrangement of the Pāli Saṃyutta-nikāya, there is a stronger connection to the arrangement of the Chinese Saṃyuktāgama of Guṇabhadra. This is opposite to the observation concerning the contents of the four sūtras on Scroll 5 where Pāli provides the closer match. If we assume that this situation is typical of this Gāndhārī collection, and not limited to the texts on this manuscript, we must come to one of the following conclusions:

1. The text traditions in question have a clean linear relationship. The following scenario might apply to this possibility. The three traditions, Gāndhārī (Dharmaguptaka), Pāli (Tāmraśāṭīya), and Chinese (Sarvāstivāda), stem from a common source. The Gāndhārī and Chinese collections split from Pāli. Some rearrangment in the sequence of the Connected Discourses took place in either or both traditions. The Gāndhārī and Pāli texts preserve separate witnesses to this post-rearrangement phase. The tradition preserved in Chinese underwent textual developments (some of which are also seen in the Pāli Majjhima-nikāya), up to the end of the fourth century A.D. when the text transported to China.

2. Alternatively, the traditions had a more complex relationship involving unfinished collections and inter-sectarian influence. In this case, an alternative scenario may be envisaged. Following the schisms, the three traditions being studied here inheritedw a common stock of sūtras with some organizational framework, including groups of shorter sūtras connected by topic. Such groupings might naturally occur in the course of the oral/aural transmission and preservation of the literature. The traditions which eventually produced the Pāli and Gāndhārī texts preserved much the same wording in their texts. Such differences as do exist today could have been due to changes in either textual tradition at any time prior to their final redaction in the shape we have them now, including the time of

sectarian unity. An effort to firmly establish large text collections such as the Connected Discourses broadly affected the Buddhist community, perhaps under the influence of writing, and previously existing groups of sūtras were set in place. There may have been some attempt on an inter-sectarian and/or regional or even inter-regional level to coordinate the sequence of the sūtras thus being established. This could have led to the commonalities noted above between the Gāndhārī and Chinese collections. The Senior Collection itself may be a witness to this effort, in progress or already completed. By the time of this phase of canonization, the Pāli and Gāndhārī traditions would have had less influence on each other due to their remoteness. The groupings which are common to both most likely stem from the original period of unity.

Needless to say, the observations and scenarios given here are preliminary since more studies on the texts of this and other Gāndhārī collections will follow. We might also hope that other studies of the Connected Discourses will contribute to a better understanding of the history and development of this important textual corpus.

CHAPTER 3
Physical Description of the Manuscript

3.1. Description of the Manuscript

Scroll 5 of the Senior Collection belongs to a group of 24 scrolls and scroll fragments owned by Robert Senior of Butleigh, Glastonbury, United Kingdom. This collection was acquired in the last years of the 1990's, and for a time was on loan to the British Library. In December 1999, Mark Barnard and John Burton of the British Library's Oriental Conservation studio opened the twenty five packets of scroll fragments which had been carefully packaged in an assortment of small boxes some time previously. Richard Salomon and I were present to observe and provide any assistance that preliminary readings of the fragments could provide for the conservation effort. The packets of fragments were numbered in the order in which they were opened for inspection. Therefore, Scroll 5 is so named, simply because it was the fifth packet to be opened that day. Once all the packets had been examined an order for unrolling and conservation was worked out. This began with scrolls 8, 7 and 6 in that order. Scroll 5 was unrolled some time later.

Like other scrolls in the Senior Collection, Scroll 5 had been wrapped individually prior to its arrival in the United Kingdom. Inside the packet were remnants of a scroll in a bundle about 12 cm long and 4 cm wide as well as some fragments of manuscript debris (fig. 1). The main scroll bundle was arranged just as it had been folded in antiquity, but due to extensive deterioration along the fold lines it looked like a stack of separate pieces. A careful examination of the exposed lines of writing on all sides led to an understanding of original arrangement. The scroll had been folded ten times horizontally and flattened with each fold, progressing in a circular manner upwards from the bottom with the recto on the inside of the folds. The resulting short, broad strip, exposing the top of the verso, was then folded in the middle along the vertical axis. This seems to have been the normal manner of handling shorter manuscripts such as this, as many texts in both the British Library and Robert Senior Collections show the damage typically associated with this method (see fig. 2; Lenz 2003: § 1.1). Richard Salomon and I then discussed with the conservators the most likely

Figure 1. Robert Senior Kharoṣṭhī Scroll 5 before unrolling and conservation

Figure 2. Robert Senior Kharoṣṭhī Scroll 24 before unrolling and conservation

relationships between the fragments in this bundle so they could be laid out in their original positions during conservation. As a result, today all of the main fragments from this scroll appear in their correct orientation and sequence (see figs. 3 and 4).

Figure 3. Robert Senior Kharoṣṭhī Scroll 5, unreconstructed, recto

Figure 4. Robert Senior Kharoṣṭhī Scroll 5, unreconstructed, verso

In addition to the main fragments there are many smaller fragments connected with Scroll 5. Forty small pieces lie among the main fragments (§ 3.3.2; see the location key to these fragments, fig. 5). A further twenty-three pieces of manuscript debris fell from the cluster of main fragments during unrolling and were placed in a line at the bottom of the glass frame in which the manuscript is now preserved (fig. 6; § 3.3.3). As mentioned above, the fifth packet also contained some additional debris which is likely to have come from deterioration of the main fragments while they were wrapped in individual packets. These seventy-two pieces have been conserved separately in a small glass frame called 'Senior 5 debris' (see fig. 7; § 3.3.4).
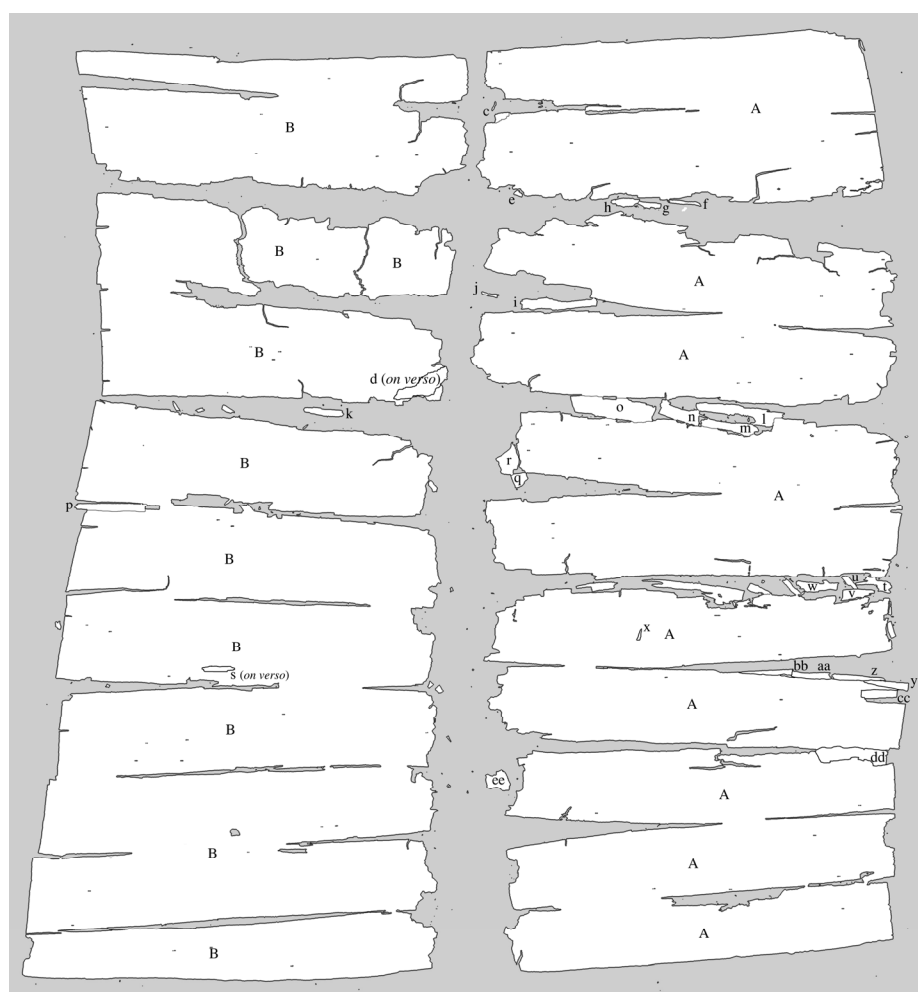
Figure 5. Key to fragments in the unreconstructed scroll
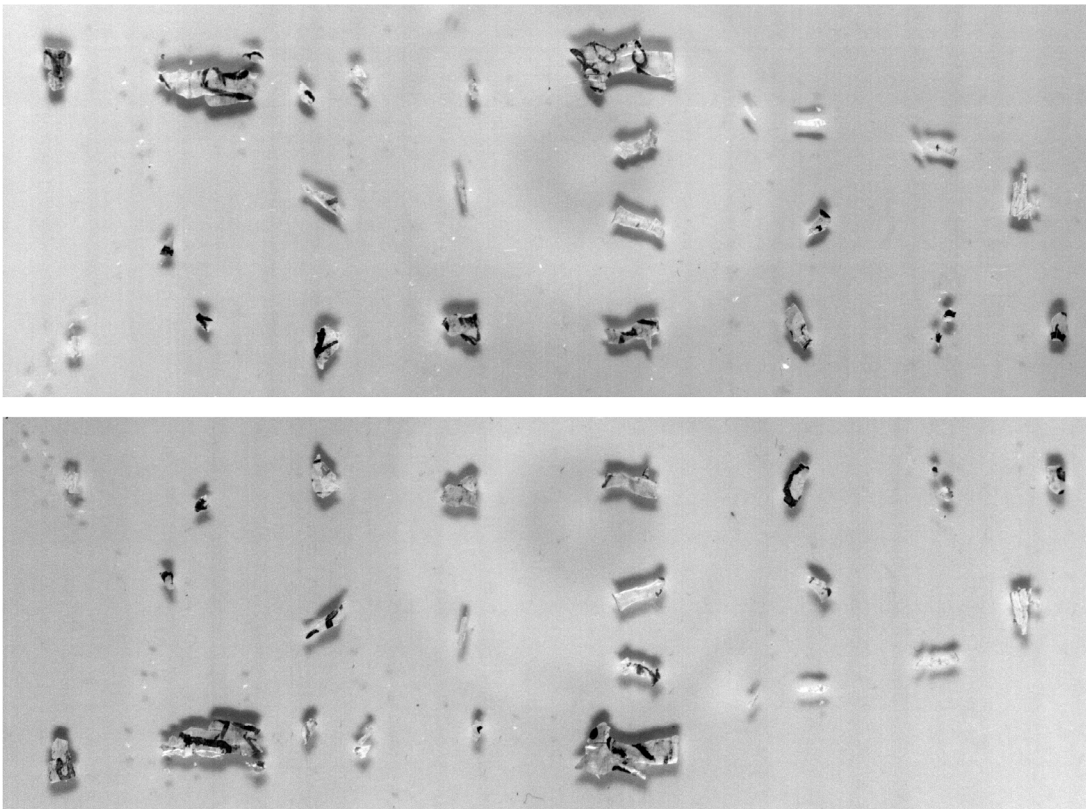
Figure 6. Debris from the main frame, sides a and b

3.2. Reconstruction of the Scroll (see pocket material)

3.2.1. Size and Format

The arrangement of the main fragments after conservation, framed between two sheets of glass, is very close to the original positions and only minor adjustments have been made in the reconstructed image. All four original edges are preserved and the size of the vertical gap through the middle of the manuscript (caused by damage resulting from the last vertical fold) can be calculated with confidence on the basis of the reconstructed text. Therefore it is not necessary to give separate measurements for the complete dimensions of the manuscript before and after reconstruction as they are more or less the same. The edges of the scroll are not perfectly straight and the upper left side of the recto in particular is slightly concave. The
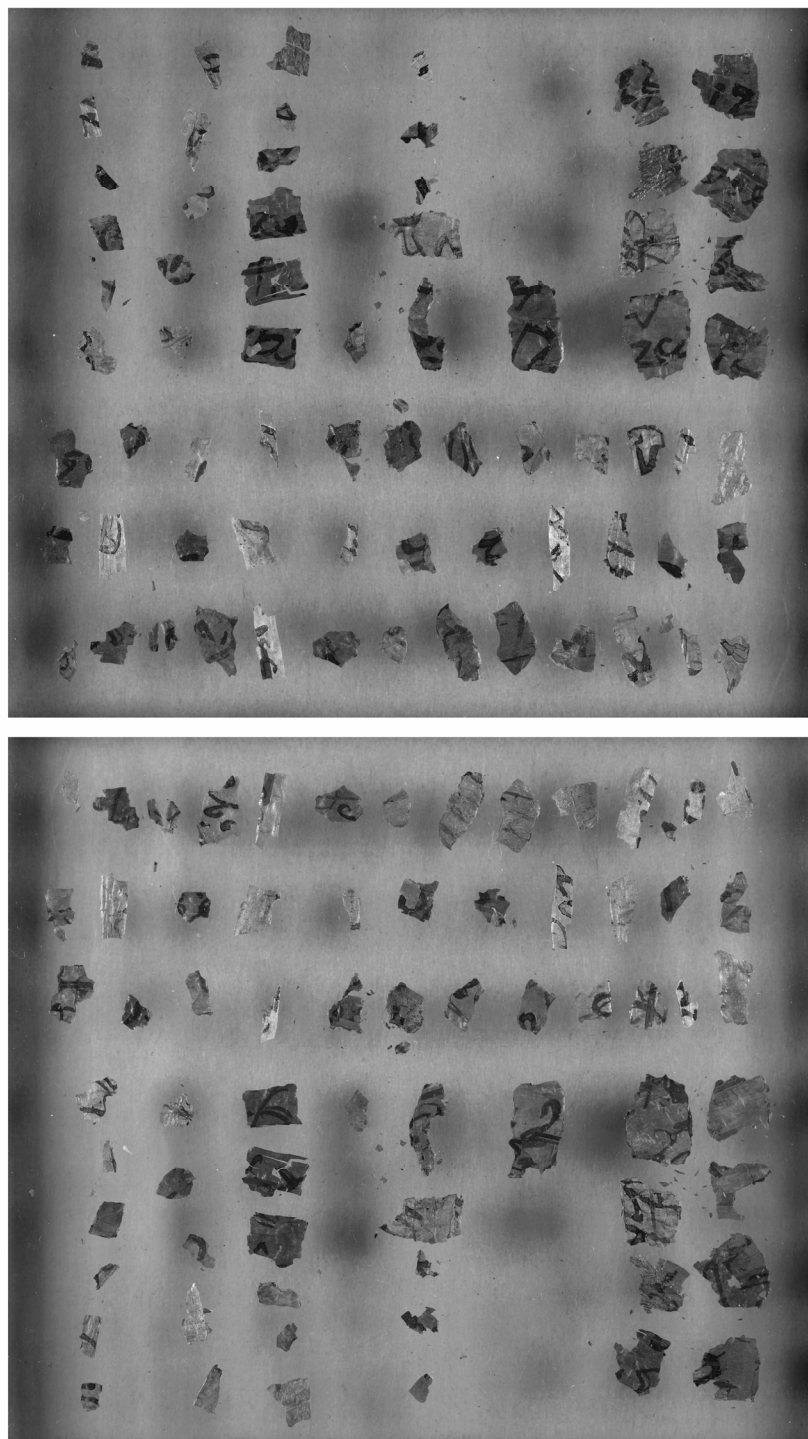
Figure 7. The debris frame, sides a and b

measurements, based on maximum dimensions, are 27.7 cm high and 27.3 cm wide. The width of the vertical gap at the center, ranges from about 1.7 (line 12) to 5.4 cm (line 4).

This almost square scroll was originally made with a single piece of bark, and does not contain features such as a glue line or sewn edges which are sometimes found in the longer scrolls (Salomon 1999: 92–6). There are 21 lines of writing on each side, most of which take up the full width of the bark. These complete lines contain an average of just under 50 akṣaras. For further details on the layout of the manuscript see Paleography § 4.2.

3.2.2. The Reconstructed Text

As mentioned above (§ 3.1), in their present state the manuscript fragments in the main glass frame are in more or less the correct arrangement, so that most of the text of the present edition can be read from the original without recourse to the reconstructed image. However, many minor improvements have been possible by restoring the manuscript digitally. This reconstruction has involved slight adjustments to the positions of the main fragments as well as restoration of some the many dislocated subfragments. The reconstruction is based on high quality color digital images of the main fragment that were made by Chris Lee of the British Library on October 3rd, 2002, by scanning the conserved fragments using a large format camera fitted with a digital back or CCD (charge-coupled device), specifically, a PhotoPhase made by Phase One (5,000 × 7,200 pixels). This study has also benefited from the use of infrared images made using a newer Phase One CCD, the PowerPhase FX (6,000 × 8,400 pixels) filtered to detect only infrared frequencies of 950 μm. These images were made by Jonathan Jackson of the International Dunhuang Project on July 22nd, 2003.

The surviving fragments of the reconstructed image comprise 79% of the original surface area of the scroll. The proportion of the text which survives is slightly higher at 87%. A further 10.5% of the text lost in the many lacunae has been reconstructed, with reasonable certainty, on the basis of internal parallelism and comparison with the Pāli and Chinese versions. As a result, the amount of text that is irretrievable is only 2.5%, much of which comes from the first sūtra (lines 1–14) as this lacks a direct parallel.

3.3. Descriptive List of the Subfragments of Senior Fragment 5

Trying to read and restore these small fragments to their original positions in the manuscript is a very time consuming task. When the fragments contain enough ink to permit a reading, this effort is generally worthwhile, though many times I have been frustrated in the attempt, so that several readable fragments remain unlocated. When the ink is too small to be sure of the reading, I have not gone too far in my efforts, since the benefit to the understanding of the text would in most cases be negligible; at best, some uncertainty might be removed.

It is possible that, despite being wrapped with the main fragments of Senior 5, some of the unlocated fragments may belong to other scrolls in the collection. This I think must be the explanation for the few larger debris pieces which I have not been able to place. The counterpart to this situation is that some fragments from this manuscript might now be mixed with other scrolls from the collection, though I have not dared to venture into this territory.

In the description of fragments that follows, I have only included those pieces which contain some trace of ink; consequently the numbering does not exactly correspond to the total numbers of fragments given in the description above (§ 3.1). If I do not attempt a reading, the reader should assume that the ink traces are too small to permit a guess.

3.3.1. Main fragments

As described above, the scroll was folded ten times horizontally and then once vertically. This pattern has produced twenty-two panels, flat areas bounded by edges or folds, of approximately equal width and steadily decreasing height towards the bottom of the manuscript, that is, the center of the scroll.

Since the present layout of the main panels is correct and only minor adjustments have been introduced in the reconstructed image, I have simply labeled the left and right columns of these panels as A and B. For the sake of convenience, in the descriptions that follow, I speak of them as if they were each one fragment, although technically, they consist of multiple separate pieces. The horizontal breaks have been ignored for the sake of simplicity as the line numbers are deemed sufficient to direct the reader's attention vertically through

the text. Also in the interest of simplicity, the numbering of the text lines continues from the recto through to the last line of the verso. Thus, the letter A designates the main fragments on the right side of the recto, that is the beginning of each line. While on the verso, the A portion is the left side and the end of each line. The letter B is the reverse: left side of the recto, right side of the verso.

3.3.2. Small Fragments Among the Main Fragments

The reconstruction itemizes forty small fragments from the main frame. All but one of these has been restored to their original positions in the reconstructed image. In most cases the adjustment required was minor. These fragments continue the alphabetic labeling of the main fragments, but use lower case letters, ranging from c to pp. For each of the following, I give a brief description of the current placement and an indication of the reading. In most cases I have not given exact readings as the reader may easily refer to the relevant line of the edition. Directions mentioned in these descriptions are given with reference to the recto unless mentioned otherwise. The line number(s) to which the located fragments belong are given in parentheses at the start of each entry.

c: (1, 23) At the left end of line 1 on fragment A, tucked under and to the right of its original position. The recto contains part of the top of *kṣa* as well as traces of three akṣaras on the verso.

d: (24) Overlying on verso, covering the bottoms of *mi* and *sa* from *vaḏemi s(*a)y(*a)siḏ(*a)* line 29 and the top of *a* in *ruas(*a),* line 30. This fragment belongs to the right edge of main fragment B line 2. However, since the recto of this fragment is hidden from view, it appears as a grey outline in the reconstruction of the recto, but is fully restored in the verso, where it contains traces of two akṣaras.

e: (3) Floating separately, but almost in the correct position at the left end of line 3 on fragment A. It contains a tiny dot of ink on the recto which belongs to the lower tip of the *i*-vowel diacritic of *ṭi,* while the verso is blank.

f: (24) A thin strip floating together with the next two small fragments. It is in almost the correct placement, a third of the way along line 4. This fragment is blank on the recto, but has traces of the foot of *le* on the verso.

g: (4) A thin fragment. The recto contains part of the stem of *ga*. The verso is blank.

h: (4, 25) Located with the previous fragment. Contains part of the stem of *ṇa* and the arm of *pa* on the recto. The verso has part of the *i*-vowel diacritic of *ḏi*.

i: (6, 26, 27) This elongated fragment is located at the end of line 6 on fragment A. The recto contains parts of five akṣaras, the verso parts of three akṣaras from two different lines.

j: (6) This small chip is located to the left of the previous fragment. The recto contains the top line of *bha;* the verso is blank.

k: (7, 30) This fragment contains parts of three akṣaras. It is located in the horizontal break between lines 6 and 7 of the B main panels. It has flipped over, so that the true recto is showing on the verso of the unreconstructed image and vice-versa. There are parts of three akṣaras on both sides.

l: (9, 10, 29, 30) This, and the following three fragments are all situated between two of the A panels containing line 9. The recto contains readings from two lines. On the first are parts of seven akṣaras, two of which continue onto the next fragment. There is a trace of the top of *ṇa* and the *i*-vowel diacritic of *vi* on the second line. The verso has traces of the foot of *kṣa* from line 29 and the top of *vi* from the next.

m: (9, 10, 30) Located below the previous one, this fragment contains parts of three akṣaras from two different lines on the recto, and four partial akṣaras on the verso.

n: (9, 30) Located to the left of fragments i and j. This fragment is rotated 180° relative to the main pieces. It contains parts of four akṣaras on the recto and three on the verso.

o: (9, 30) Located to the left of fragment k. This fragment has also been rotated 180°. The recto contains parts of eight akṣaras and the verso has the tops of five.

p: (9, 33) This thin strip sits on top of the main fragment B at the left end of line 9. It contains parts of four akṣaras on the recto and two on the verso.

q: (10) This small chip is located below the left end of line 10 on fragment A in the color images. However, by the time the infrared images were taken, it had moved about 2 cm to the left, to the start of line 9 on fragment B. The recto has the foot of *ga* while the verso is blank.

r: (11, 12, 32, 33) This fragment sits above and to the left of fragment n. The recto contains the tip of the foot of *ri* from the end of fragment A line 11, as well as parts of three akṣaras from the next line. The verso has the foot of *a* from line 32 and the top of *ṇi* from the next line.

s: (13, 14, 33) This and the next six fragments (t to z) are located in the horizontal break between the lines 14 and 16 on the right side of the recto. This fragment is the leftmost of the seven. It contains portions of four akṣaras from two different lines on the recto, as well as three partial akṣaras on the verso.

t: (33) This fragment is situated about 4 cm from the right margin. Its recto side is blank. The verso contains a trace of the foot of *la* from the interlinear *kuśala* above line 33, and parts of two akṣaras from the main text of the line.

u: (14, 33) This fragment is to the left of the preceding. It contains portions of seven akṣaras. The verso has parts of six akṣaras.

v: (14) This fragment comes from the verso where it covers parts of the akṣaras *vi* and *s̱e* near the beginning of line 36. The recto is facing up and has parts of three akṣaras. The verso, being concealed, cannot be read.

w: (15, 16, 33) This fragment and the next three are found in the horizontal break near the beginning of line 15. Fragment w is the rightmost of this group. The recto contains parts of two akṣaras from two lines. The verso is very difficult to read, but guided by the Pāli parallel, it seems to contain remnants of four akṣaras (see text note on *kuśalaṇa [dharmaṇa kaḏareṣe kuśalaṇa dharma]+,* Chapter 11, line 33).

x: (15, 33) This fragment sits to the left of fragment w. It needs to be rotated about 45° to restore its correct alignment. It contains parts of two akṣaras on the recto, and three on the verso.

y: (15, 16, 33) Fragment y is situated below fragments w and x. It contains portions of four akṣaras from two lines of the recto. The verso also seems to have parts of four akṣaras, all from line 33.

z: (15, 16, 33) Fragment z is the leftmost in this cluster of fragments (w–z). It contains parts of three akṣaras from line 15 and part of the *e*-vowel diacritic of *ve* near the beginning of line 16. The verso contains some parts of the interlinear notation above line 33 and a trace of the top of *ṇa* from the main text of this line.

aa: (16) This chip contains part of the foot of *hi* in *prahiṇa* from line 16. It has merely been rotated into its original place. In the color images it covers part of the stem of the same akṣara, but has moved to cover the lower part of the stem of *pra* in the infrared images.

bb: (33, 34) This and the following three fragments form part of the horizontal fold between lines 17 and 18. These fragments lie in the correct horizontal arrangement but required some manipulation for the reconstruction. This first fragment has flipped so that the verso shows upside-down on the recto. The recto is therefore obscured, but the verso, once restored, contains part of the foot of *ṇa,* the last akṣara of line 33 as well as parts of *ga* and *ṇa* from the next line.

cc: (34) This fragment lies to the left of the preceding one. Its recto is blank. The verso has parts of four akṣaras.

dd: (17, 34) This fragment is to the left of fragment cc. Both the recto and verso have parts of the bottoms of two akṣaras.

ee: (17, 34, 35) This fragment is the last and leftmost of this group of four (bb–ee). It contains parts of three akṣaras on the recto. The verso has parts of the bottoms of three akṣaras, two from line 34, the third is an interlinear correction belonging to the next line.

ff: (35) This thin strip of bark has flipped onto the recto as part of a horizontal fold. Now broken, it remains on the recto, about 8 cm from the start of line 17, with only the verso visible. There are traces of five akṣaras.

gg: (18, 34) This fragment, containing a portion of the first letter in line 18, has broken off from a panel of the main fragment and sits underneath it, slightly displaced to the left. The

recto contains part of the middle of the first letter of line 18. The verso has the bottoms of three akṣaras.

hh: (19) Like the preceding one, this fragment has broken off the right side of a main panel and is displaced slightly underneath and to the left of its true position. It contains portions of three akṣaras on the recto.

ii: (36) This and the following four fragments, like fragment ff, are thin strips which have folded onto the recto, so now only the verso can be seen. Fragment ii is located near the beginning of line 19. Once flipped back into its original placement, it restores parts of five akṣaras.

jj: (39) Another thin strip folded onto the recto. This one is located at the end of line 17 and extends up to the left margin. The verso contains remnants of 7 akṣaras.

kk: (38) This strip sits 3 cm to the right of fragment jj, beneath line 17. It contains parts of three akṣaras.

ll: (37, 38) This strip extends leftwards from the right margin at the break between lines 20 and 21. Once restored to the verso, it adds ink traces to five akṣaras in two separate lines.

mm: (39, 40) This broad strip has broken from the innermost fold, under line 21, and begins 3 cm from the right margin. The recto is blank here, so that no text has been lost. The verso contains traces from the feet of three akṣaras from line 39 and parts of the tops of four akṣaras from the next line.

nn: (39) This fragment has broken from the main fragment A at the horizontal fold below the start of line 21. The recto is blank. The verso preserves part of the middle of *i* at the end of line 39.

oo: (40) Like other strips above, this small piece has flipped onto the recto. The recto here would be blank if it were visible. Part of the foot of *da* from line 40 is contained on the verso.

pp: (unlocated) This fragment contains incomplete parts of one akṣara on each side. It now sits in the middle vertical gap about half a centimeter from the left edge of fragment A line 19, a place which fragment D2 occupies in the reconstructed image. I have not been able

to place this fragment with certainty, it might provide the end of the foot of _de_ at the right edge of fragment B, line 17, but the verso does not corroborate this position. It may be that the recto and verso of this fragment are in fact two separate fragments and should be placed separately. However, I failed convince myself of this possibility when I examined the fragments closely and tried other placements for the verso fragment.

3.3.3. Debris fragments in the main frame (fig. 6)

As mentioned above, there are twenty-three small pieces of debris which were collected during the unrolling process and placed in a line at the bottom of the main frame. These pieces have been numbered D1 through D23. The debris fragments numbered D4, D5, D6, D7, D9, D11, D12, D13, D14, D15, D16, D17, D19, D22, and D23 contain either very small traces of ink or none at all, and so were deemed unworthy of serious attention in the reconstruction effort. Of the seven remaining fragments, I have been able to restore only three to their original positions.

D1: (9, 10, 30, 31) This is the largest of the main frame debris fragments. It has been restored to the left edge of the panel of main fragment A that covers lines 9 to 11. The recto preserves parts of three akṣaras from line 9 and two from the next line. The verso has only a foot of one akṣara from line 30 and parts of two akṣaras from the following line.

D2: (19, 20, 37, 38) This fragment belongs to the left edge of the panel of fragment A covering lines 19 and 20. The recto has two partial akṣaras from line 19 as well as a short length of the _i_-vowel diacritic of an otherwise lost syllable _(*ḏ)i_ from line 20. The verso has two partial akṣaras from both lines 37 and 38.

D3: (unlocated) A small fragment containing parts of one akṣara on each side. The readings are uncertain, and I have not been able to find a convincing location for it.

D8: (unlocated) A slightly elongated strip. There are traces of two akṣaras on one side, and one on the other. The readings are uncertain, since the fragment remains unlocated.

D10: (unlocated) This fragment seems locatable, as it has a distinctive shape. However, I have not been able to do so. There is ink on just one side, part of a single akṣara. Reading uncertain.

D18: (unlocated) This almost oval fragment has what appears to be part of an independent vowel *e* on one side, and a small trace of ink on the other. However, despite the tentative reading, I have not been able to locate this piece.

D20: (unlocated) This elongated fragment has one akṣara, perhaps *[r.]* or *[b.],* on what is likely to be the verso, based on the darker color of the bark. The other side has just a trace of ink.

D21: (20, 39) This is a small, almost rectangular fragment containing parts of two akṣaras on the recto, and one akṣara on the verso. It belongs to the left edge of the penultimate panel of fragment A.

3.3.4. Debris Frame Fragments (fig. 7)

As mentioned above, an additional seventy-two small fragments were found in the tissue packet in which Scroll 5 was wrapped prior to conservation. These were conserved separately in a small glass frame. These pieces have been numbered as a continuation of the sequence of debris fragments from the main frame, running from D24 to D95. The debris fragments numbered D26, D31, D37, D48, D49, D55, D56, D58, D65, D67, D74, D77, D84, D85, D90 and D93 contain either very small traces of ink or none at all, and so were not given serious attention in the reconstruction effort. Of the remaining fragments, I have been able to restore just ten to their original positions.

D27: (3, 25) This is the only debris fragment which I have been able to locate which does not belong to the damaged central column of the manuscript. It has been restored to the top edge of the third panel of the B fragments, 7 cm from the left margin. There are partial tops of two akṣaras on the recto, while the verso has remnants of the bottoms of three akṣaras.

D34: (19, 39) This and the next fragment (D35) are stuck together in the debris frame, such that only part of the verso of D34 is visible and the whole of the recto of D35 is obscured. Parts of three akṣaras are preserved on the recto of this fragment, while parts of

two are visible on the verso. It has been restored to the right edge of the panel of fragment B which covers lines 17 to 19.

D35: (35) This fragment is stuck to the verso of D34, so that only the verso of this fragment is now visible. The reading supplies a corner of *tva* from the middle of line 35 as well as the top of an independent vowel *i*. It belongs to the inner edge of the fragment B panel covering lines 34 to 37.

D61: (1) The versos of this and the next fragment (D62) are stuck together, so that neither verso can be read. They have been restored to the inner edges of the second A and B panels. This shows that the top panel was outermost when the folded scrolls was given the final vertical fold, as only this arrangement would place the versos of these two fragments in direct contact with each other. The recto of fragment D61 provides four partial akṣaras from line 1 and two from the next line. The verso, if visible, would most likely have given us some partial akṣaras from lines 23 and 24.

D62: (1, 2) This fragment is stuck to the verso of the previous fragment; see above for details. The visible side, the recto, contains two partial akṣaras from line 1 and a further two from the next line. If visible, the verso should contribute readings to lines 23 and 24.

D63: (20) This fragment has adhered to the next one, D64. In this case, the arrangement of the folds has caused the verso of D63 to adhere to the recto of D64. Part of the latter remains visible while the former is entirely obscured. Fragment D63 belongs to the right edge of the fragment B panel covering lines 19 and 20. One akṣara, *hu,* and a small trace of the next, *ru,* are visible on the recto.

D64: (17, 36, 37) This fragment has stuck to the verso of the preceding one. It belongs one cycle of the scroll (i.e., two folds) above D63 at the innermost edge of the panel of fragment B covering lines 15 to 17. The reading supplies two partial akṣaras on the recto and three partial akṣaras on the verso (two from line 37, one from line 38).

D71: (10, 11, 32, 33) This fragment belongs to the right edge of the panel of fragment B covering lines 9 to 12. It provides three partial akṣaras on the recto, one from line 10, two from line 11. The verso has traces of two akṣaras from line 32 and two from line 33.

D75: (11, 12, 32, 33) This fragment provides the counterpart to D71, as it belongs to the left edge of the panel of fragment A which covers lines 11 to 15, and would have rested in the same axis as D71 when the scroll was folded in half. It adds three akṣaras to the reading of line 11 and a vowel diacritic, probably *e,* to line 12. The verso has three partial akṣaras from line 32 and the tip of the *i*-vowel diacritic from *ṇi* in line 33.

D82: (5, 26, 27) This fragment belongs to the left edge of third fragment A panel, covering lines 4 to 7. It supplies two akṣaras for the reading of line 5 on the recto. The verso has two partial akṣaras from line 26 and one from line 27.

Unlocated Debris Fragments

Indications of recto or verso can be given for many of the following unlocated fragments as the color of the bark is generally darker on the verso than on the recto.

D24: The recto has a thin trace of ink, no reading is possible. The verso has one akṣara, the likely reading is *[pra].*

D25: Parts of two akṣaras on both the recto and verso.

D28: The coloring of this fragment does not permit a determination of recto and verso sides. Traces of ink are visible on both, but no reading is possible.

D29: Recto has one akṣara, reading *[hi].* The verso also has one akṣara, *[ṭha].*

D30: Traces of ink are visible on both sides, but I cannot attempt a reading.

D32: One side contains clear ink traces to be read *ma[ḏi]* or *ma[s̱i].* Ink is visible on the other side, but is not clear enough to read.

D33: This horizontal strip contains the bottoms of two characters, perhaps to be read *[ya ta].* The other side also has traces, perhaps of two akṣaras.

D36: Parts of at least one akṣara are visible on both sides, but cannot be read.

D38: Again, ink traces are visible on both sides, but not enough to permit a reading.

D39: Both sides have traces of a thick stroke of ink. A reading is not possible.

D40: There are parts of three akṣaras on what is perhaps the verso. The other side is lightly smudged with ink, but no clear traces of writing remain.

D41: A horizontal strip, with traces of three or four akṣaras on each side. Reading uncertain.

D42: Traces of one akṣara on each side. One side may be read *[ka]* or *[e]*.

D43: A hooked stroke is visible on what is likely to be the recto, possible reading *[a.]*. The other side contains traces of two akṣaras.

D44: Another horizontal strip with parts of two akṣaras on one side and just one on the other.

D45: A relatively large fragment, with a curved ink stroke on one side and smudges on the other.

D46: An almost round fragment with traces of two akṣaras on the recto and one on the verso.

D47: The recto might be read *[ka]* or *[ṣa]*. The verso has parts of three akṣaras, reading uncertain.

D50: A horizontal fragment with traces of two or three akṣaras on each side.

D51: On one side the reading is *[a. bh.]*. The other side is not legible, though it contains well defined ink strokes.

D52: One side contains what is perhaps the curved stroke which could be the top of a vowel, or *h-,* or turned the other way, could be a foot.

D53: This seems to be a compound fragment, consisting of multiple fragments stacked on top of each other. The reading of the visible traces is uncertain.

D54: Traces of two or three akṣaras on each side. Reading uncertain.

D57: A horizontal fragment with traces of two akṣaras on each side.

D59: An almost round fragment with parts of one akṣara on each side.

D60: The recto seems to contain parts of three akṣaras from two different lines. The verso has parts of two akṣaras.

D66: The recto has parts of three akṣaras, reading may be *[sa pra] ?*. The verso has a long stem, followed by the rightward foot of *s̠-* or *d̠-*.

D68: Traces of two akṣaras on each side. Reading uncertain.

D69: A compound fragment. It is probable that both of the visible sides belong to the recto. Reading uncertain.

D70: Parts of two or three akṣaras are visible on both sides. Possible readings are, *[bra j.]* or *[tva j.]* on one side, and *? [ji],* on the other.

D72: Parts of two or akṣaras on one side, and one or two on the other. Reading uncertain.

D73: A round fragment with parts of two akṣaras on the recto, and one on the verso.

D76: The fragment contains the edge of a knot in the bark, and traces of one or two akṣaras on each side. Despite the knot, I have not been able to place this. The reading is uncertain.

D78: A compound fragment. The visible traces of ink on both sides may belong to the verso. Reading uncertain.

D79: Parts of two akṣaras are visible on one side, and one on the other. Reading uncertain.

D80: One side is blank, the other has a large curved stroke. Reading uncertain.

D81: A relatively large fragment. The recto can be read as *[ḏi],* the verso might be *[tv.],* but is partly obscured by a smaller chip covering some of the ink traces.

D83: A small fragment with parts of one akṣara on each side. Reading uncertain.

D86: A horizontal fragment, parts of two akṣaras on each side. Reading uncertain.

D87: Another horizontal fragment, parts of two akṣaras on one side, and one on the other. Reading uncertain.

D88: A fragment with two undetermined traces of ink on one side and a dot on the other.

D89: A partial akṣara on one side. The other side is blank.

D91: One side has a hook of ink, possibly the vowel base or *h-*. The other side is blank.

D92: Parts of two akṣaras on one side, and one on the other, reading uncertain.

D93: A small, broken fragment, with parts of one akṣara on each side.

D94: The recto is blank. A likely reading for the verso is *[tva]*.

D95: A boomerang shaped fragment, both sides appear to be compounded with other smaller fragments. Reading uncertain.

CHAPTER 4
Paleography and Orthography

In his article introducing the Kharoṣṭhī manuscripts in the Senior collection, Richard Salomon pointed out that, in contrast to the British Library collection, they are the work of a single scribe (Salomon 2003: 78). The complete paleographic study of this scribe's hand must therefore wait until all of his works have been studied in detail. In light of this, the present chapter will discuss the script and writing features of Scroll 5 only. Throughout this chapter akṣaras are referred to by line number and syllable number from (right to left); for example, 40.7 refers to line 40 of the edition, seventh extant character from the right.

4.1. The Writing Instrument

For previous discussions, see Salomon 2000: § 5.1; Glass 2000b: § 5.0; Allon 2001: § 4.1; Lenz 2003: §§ 3.1, 8.1.

The type of writing instrument used by the scribes of the British Library Kharoṣṭhī manuscripts was a broad-edged reed pen, or calamus. This is also true of the scribe of the Senior Collection, though he wrote about 100 years later (see Introduction). Evidence for the use of this kind of pen is seen throughout Scroll 5. The main characteristics are: the contrast between broad and thin strokes; the split in the nib which delivers ink to the tip; and the softness of the nib, evidenced by fluctuations in the nib's dimensions (see below). The softness of the nib is also suggested by the frequency of inking the nib.[1]

The nib width is 1.6 mm from lines 1 to 7, but changes dramatically to just 1.1 mm at the beginning of 'the perception of the repulsiveness of food'. Since this comes at a syntactic

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[1] The frequency of re-inking the pen is determined by the size of the reservoir. Since pens at this time did not have internal cartridges or bladders, the reservoir was limited to the amount of ink that would adhere to the barrel in a single dip. In my experiments with various writing implements and modern India-ink, reed pens have a larger capacity, since they are naturally hollow and some ink is held internally. Harder materials such as wood, metal and glass have lower reservoir capacities. Reed pens that are not kept trim have the largest capacity as the softened nib takes on a brush-like quality and so can store more ink. Such pens can write upwards of twenty average sized Kharoṣṭhī letters with a single dip (see also Lenz 2003: § 8.1).

break, the scribe either recut the nib or more likely changed pens at this point (see text note on *kaḍara,* Chapter 8 line 7). It is possible that this change was deliberate, as he may have realized he would not be able to fit his text into the available space at the previous size (see below § 4.2). The nidānas in lines 15, 22, and 28 were written with a finer nib, 0.9 mm wide. Since this is so much smaller than the rest of the text, it is likely (but not certain) that the nidānas were written with a different pen (see below § 4.2). The widths at the start of the second, third and fourth sutras are 1.3 mm (l. 16) 1.4 mm (l. 23), and 1.3 mm (l. 29) respectively. Nib depth is typically very thin at just 0.2 or 0.3 mm. With the exception of the change in line 7, the ink traces show a gradual increase in nib wear through each sutra, suggesting that the scribe did not recut his nib, but allowed it to soften slightly. Between line 16 and line 21 the nib width gradually increases from 1.3 to 1.5 mm.

The scribe made some corrections by writing additional words or syllables above line from which they had been omitted (see below for details, § 4.7.5). The nib size of the interlinear notations above lines 13, 14, and 36 is not noticeably different from the main writing in these lines, suggesting that these corrections may have been made soon after the omissions were made. However, the interlinear notation above line 33 betrays a significantly finer nib size than the text below it (0.5 mm vs. 1.3 mm), suggesting that the scribe switched pens to make this correction. This could have been done at any time following the completion of the line, and may have been prompted by the need to fit a large amount of missing text into the available space.

The writing in this manuscript frequently betrays the split nib, which shows up as a blank streak in the broad strokes. This split may widen when pressure is applied to the nib, resulting in a broader blank streak and a broader total width. For example, the *ḍi* of *bhaviśaḍi* in line 21 begins at the top with a width 1.5 mm. When the scribe formed the bottom of the letter, he applied more pressure to the pen, causing the nib and the split to widen, so total width increased to 2.2 mm, with a 0.7 mm blank streak through the middle of the stroke. At the end, he released the pressure slightly, and the nib width reduced to 2 mm.

4.2. Layout of the Manuscript

Indications within the manuscript suggest that the scribe had planned the layout of the four sutras before he wrote them. The evidence for this comes from the references to this scroll in the index scrolls, the nidāna lines in this manuscript, the marginal notations, and alternations in pen size. First, as mentioned above (§ 1.2.5.2), the order of the sūtras as they appear in the manuscript does not match the order in which they are listed in the index scrolls. Since it is believed the index scrolls were written before the rest of the collection, one hypothesis for this situation is that the scribe rearranged these four sutras in order to fit them, two per side, onto this manuscript. Alternatively, and possibly more likely, is that he adopted the order found in his archetype when he came to copy the actual texts (see § 1.5). Second, the nidānas (ll. 15, 22, 28) are all written with a smaller nib size than the rest of the text (see above § 4.1). While is it possible that the scribe might have switched pens each time he wrote a nidāna, the fact that he twice ran out of space before a nidāna (ll. 14^M, 27^M), strongly suggests that these lines were written in advance of the main text. The change of nib size in line 7 may also be related to this situation (see above § 4.1). If it is true that the scribe planned the layout of this text in advance, to the extent that he estimated the amount of space required to write each of these sūtras, I think it is very likely that he was working from a written archetype (§ 1.5).

The top margins on the recto and verso are uneven as the lines descend to the left following the arc of the scribes right arm as he wrote. On the recto the top margin increases from 0.5 cm to slightly over 2 cm. On the verso the top line (22) consists of just four akṣaras, being the nidāna to the third sūtra. This has been written very close to the top edge, so that the next line which starts below it, is just 1.2 cm from the edge, and is the effective top line for most of the width. At the left edge the top margin has expanded to 2 cm. The slope of the lines becomes more extreme toward the bottom of each side of the manuscript, as a result the lines become shorter as space runs out on the left side before the right side. Consequently the bottom margin is very uneven. The last line of the recto begins 3.3 cm above the end of the manuscript and touches the bottom edge with the last akṣara of the line. On the verso the

scribe has managed to fit just fifteen akṣaras into line 42 before he ran out of space. The scribe has left space in the right margin before beginning each line. This is ranges from 0.6 cm (line 23) to 1.8 cm (line 35). The left margin is at most about 1 cm, but the scribe frequently wrote up to the very edge of the manuscript.

Both the recto and verso sides begin at the top of the manuscript so that when reading one would turn the sheet horizontally, like a page from a modern book, rather than vertically, which was the custom for longer scrolls.

4.3. General Features of the Hand

For previous discussions, see Salomon 2000: § 5.2; Allon 2001: § 4.2; Lenz 2003: §§ 3.2, 8.2.

The script of this manuscript has a somewhat ragged appearance, due to changes in the nib and letter dimensions, inconsistent ink flow, and streaking caused by the split nib. Despite this, the writing is mostly clear and legible, so that there are almost no problems with the reading wherever the manuscript itself is intact.

Despite the obvious care and planning the scribe put into laying out the text, the numerous errors (see below § 4.6), and the gradual increase in size of his letters suggest that he worked with increasing speed, perhaps writing the whole text in a single sitting. My own experiments with copying Kharoṣṭhī texts suggests that this manuscript would have taken at least an hour to write, perhaps longer.

As mentioned above, the lines of writing start at the right margin and arc downwards as the lines progress leftwards. This effect shows that the scribe wrote with his right hand, which would presumably have been the case for all Kharoṣṭhī scribes, given cultural taboos on writing with the left hand.

Most of the verticals have a strong slant of between 10 and 20°, which suggests the manuscript might have been slightly rotated for comfort. The angle the broad stroke makes to the writing line, or 'pen angle', varies from 45 to 50°. The natural pen angle for a right handed person using a square nib is normally between 30 and 45°, but since the manuscript itself may have been rotated, this angle should be about 10–20° softer. Therefore, the scribe

probably cut his nib slanting down to the left (left oblique), which corresponds with later scribal practice in India (Lambert 1953: 5; Johnston 1971: 71–2).

In the Western calligraphic tradition, letter size is measured based on the height of the miniscule x, thus "x-height". This measurement defines the central portion of the letters ignoring ascenders and descenders, which are less constrained. It is possible to isolate the same measurement in Kharoṣṭhī, typical letters for this measurement in the present scribe's work being *ḏa* and *ca.* However, I prefer to maintain the technical term x-height in discussing Kharoṣṭhī since variation between scribes does not permit the identification a single akṣara on which to establish the standard. Measuring *ḏa* and *ca* throughout this manuscript shows the average letter size increases steadily through the text, from 5.5 mm in line 1 to a maximum of 8.6 mm in line 33. There are some exceptions to this trend. First, the x-height decreases, after line 7, due to changing to a smaller nib/pen (6.8 mm > 6.1 mm, see § 4.1). Second, the nidāna lines (15, 22, 28) are written with a much finer nib, and consequently the x-height is considerably smaller (about 4 mm). Third, when the scribe is running out of space, he reduces the size of his writing. This occurs, not only at the end of the manuscript, but also internally, as the scribe apparently worked out in advance the amount of space required for each sutra and wrote the nidānas before the main text (see § 4.2). Thus, after line seven he may have changed pen so he could write smaller in order to complete the first sūtra before the nidāna in line 15, but this was not enough and he had to continue the text into the margin (14[M]). He does not seem to have been similarly concerned while writing the third sūtra, as the x-height increases 6.5 mm to 8.5 mm in lines 23 to 27. In this case he only overshot by three akṣaras (27[M]). In the fourth sūtra the x-height peaks again in lines 33 (8.6 mm) and 39 (8.5 mm) before decreasing towards the end of the manuscript in line 42 (8.1 mm).

Western calligraphy also defines the weight of a letter as the ratio of the nib width to the x-height (Johnston 1971: 91). A larger value denotes an elongated style, while a smaller value indicates a shorter boxier style. Roman lettering, which is a medium weight, has a ratio of 1:4. The average letter weight in this manuscript is 1:4.6, which makes it somewhat more

elongated than the writing in the Khvs-G (1:4, Salomon 2000: § 5.2), but more compact than script of the EĀ-G (1:5, Allon 2001: § 4.2) and the Pūrvayogas (1:7, Lenz 2003: § 8.2).

Interline spacing is measured from the top of one line of writing to the top of the next. Therefore, changes in the text size make a difference to the interline spacing measurement. In this manuscript the minimum value is 5.3 mm (between lines 15 and 16), the maximum is 18.4 mm (between lines 40 and 41), and the average is 12 mm. In general, the interline spacing is slightly less than double the x-height.

Letter spacing, the distance between individual letters, is quite condensed in this scribe's writing. There are many cases where letters touch or overlap adjacent letters; for example, see *sahaga̱da* in the first half of line 10.

Re-inking frequency measures the syllables written with each application of ink. Due to the state of preservation, in particular the loss of the central portion of every line of the manuscript, it is difficult to precisely determine the figures. Normally, however, the scribe seems to have been able to write about 20 akṣaras between dips. In all but a few cases, he has refreshed the ink at a word break. An exception to this is seen in the word *pa[śpru]ṣa* (3), where the scribe dipped his pen between the first and second letters (see text note on this term, Chapter 8 line 3).

4.4. Foot Marks

For previous discussions, see Salomon 2000: § 5.4; Glass 2000b: § 4.0; Allon 2001: § 4.3; Lenz 2003: §§ 3.3, 8.3.

In the Kharoṣṭhī manuscripts, foot marks or flourishes are very often found at the base of letters having vertical stems. The foot marks are not phonetically significant, and their use is variable and optional. A sign may occur at different times with different foot marks, or may end without any flourish. However, they are sometimes perceived to be lacking, and so may be added with a second stroke (e.g., *a* *√ 23.25; the head of this character is damaged). As such they can reveal broader developments in the script, whereby incidental strokes gradually become linked with particular letters, and so come to be integral components of

them. Tracking the patterns of association also helps with reading damaged or partially preserved akṣaras.

There is considerable variation in the size, direction, and even the number of the strokes which make up the flourishes. In order to simplify the analysis, just four types have been identified in this manuscript, these are based on the idealized pen movement rather than other factors. That is to say, the significant factor in determining the type of a given foot mark is what direction (or directions) the scribe intended to move his pen at the base of the stem. In this way, flourishes of different sizes can all be treated together, and when the scribe has added an extra stroke to the foot, it can be included with the type the scribe was trying to emulate.

The characteristics and associations of the foot marks used in this manuscript are summarized in table 12. Only characters with secure readings and the foot preserved are included in this analysis, except for few syllables which only occur in uncertain readings. Table 13, gives the frequency for each type of footmark with each of the base signs. The plain vowels *a, i,* and *o* are treated individually as there is a significant difference in the distribution of the footmarks with these signs. The vowel *u* has been excluded since it is itself a closed loop at the foot of the stem, thus precluding a foot mark. The full vowel *e* has been excluded since in all cases it is written in a single stroke in which the right arm doubles back from the foot so that no foot mark is possible (see below § 4.5.1.3). The consonants signs have been treated inclusive of the different vowels (except *u*) since they show more or less the same distribution. The consonant *m-* is not included as it does not have a stem and so cannot take a foot mark. The rightward stroke at the foot of *ḵ-, g-, ṭ-, ḏ-, s̱-,* and *h-* is a defining feature of these signs rather than a foot mark. Therefore, these letters have been omitted from the analysis.

Type 0: A straight stem that ends abruptly or fades out without a strong movement to the left or right. This type comprises 42.1% of the foot marks in this text, and occurs with *a, i, e, o, k-, kh-, g-, c-, ch-, j-, ṭh-, ṭ́h-, ḍ-, ṇ-, t-, dh-, p-, b-, bh-, y-, r-, l-, v-, ś-,* and *ṣ-*.

Table 12. Summary of foot mark types

Type	Shape	Characters with this mark	Frequency
0		*a, i, e, o, k-, kh-, g-, c-, ch-, j-, ṭh-, ṭh-, ḍ-, ṇ-, t-, dh-, p-, b-, bh-, y-, r-, l-, v-, ś-, ṣ-*	384
1		*a, i, o, k-, g-, c-, j-, ḍ-, ṇ-, t-, d-, dh-, p-, b-, bh-, y-, r-, l-, v-, ś-, ṣ-, z-*	376
2		*k-, j-, ñ-, ṭh-, b-, r-, l-, v-, ṣ-*	9
3		*v-*	1
4		*a, o, g-, c-, j-, r-, v-, s-*	143

Type 1: A movement to the left, which usually results in a hook open at the top (*ka* ⟩ 1.42), or a plain horizontal line (*a* ⟩ 1.31). This type occurs in 40.9% cases, and is found with *a, i, o, k-, g-, c-, j-, ḍ-, ṇ-, t-, d-, dh-, p-, b-, bh-, y-, r-, l-, v-, ś-, ṣ-,* and *z-.*

Type 2: A movement to the right, resulting in a hook open at the top (*ña* ⟩ 8.3), or a straight line (*ña* ⟩ 1.8). This type accounts for just 1% of the foot marks in this text. It occurs with *k-, j-, ñ-, ṭh-, b-, r-, l-, v-,* and *ṣ-.* This foot mark may be related to the rightward foot which is integral to the signs *ṭ-* and *h-* without which they would be identical with *ḍ-* and the vowel base *a-* respectively. Care should be taken to distinguish this foot from the rightward stroke at the base of *k̠-, g-, ḏ-,* and *s̠-,* which differentiates these signs from *k-, g-, d-,* and *s-,* and is thought to be phonetically significant (see remarks on these letters below § 4.5.2 and Phonology § 5.2); and from the mark indicating postconsonantal *r* which also consists of a rightward movement at the foot of the stem (§ 4.5.3.3).

Type 3: A movement to the left, then the right, resulting in a serif-like foot. This is a marginal category in the present manuscript, but is well attested at earlier periods of the script (see Glass 2000b: § 4.3), most notably with *ga* ⟩ (Khvs-G 39b2). It occurs here just once with *va* ⟩ (1.34).

Table 13. Distribution of foot mark types in Senior Scroll 5

	0	1	2	3	4
a	32	67			14
i	6	4			
e	29				
o	8	1			4
k-	14	16	1		
kh-	10				
g-	3	11			2
c-	15	17			1
ch-	4				
j-	7	14	2		1
ñ-			22		
ṭh-	2		1		
ṭh-	1				
ḍ-	2	3			
ṇ-	74	46			
t-	16	40			
d-		10			
dh-	2	5			
p-	14	29			
b-	1	1	1		
bh-	13	18			
y-	30	12			
r-	17	15	2		33
l-	9	9	1		
v-	62	32	1	1	11
ś-	12	23			
ṣ-	1	2	4		
s-					51
z-		1			

Type 4: A movement to the right, then the left, which also produces a serif-like foot (*a* ꙿ 37.27), though usually the left side is significantly longer than the right (*a* ꙿ 9.15). The change in direction is normally made by doubling back, but sometimes it is done with a tight loop, for example, *ra* ꙿ (7.43). The leftward movement sometimes descends, producing a hook open to the left for example, *sa* ꙿ (1.9). This variant often ends with a final upwards movement anticipating the beginning of the next letter so that the hook may be almost closed

(*o* 𝄃 3.24). This foot mark occurs with *a, o, g-, c-, j-, r-, v-,* and *s-*. It comprises 15.5% of the flourishes.

4.5. Analysis of Individual Letters (table 14)

In paleography generally, different character types are identified on the basis of changes in stroke number, order, or direction. Such major changes can reflect broad developments in the script, and consequently establish the value of paleography as a means of dating texts (see below § 4.8). In the following analysis, the "type" of each character as written in this manuscript is identified and connected with the larger picture of the Kharoṣṭhī script.[2] Some finer variations are also discussed here where they have relevance for legibility or anticipate structural changes.

In my previous paleographic studies of individual Kharoṣṭhī manuscripts (Glass 2000a, 2001, 2003), differences in the foot marks occurring with each akṣara were described and illustrated. For such details in this manuscript, the reader is referred to tables 12 and 13.

It is my impression that the signs most subject to cursivization should be those which occur most frequently, or else these should have already developed into economical forms. In order to facilitate these observations, frequency data follows the headers for each character in parentheses. Frequencies are based the number of signs which can be read with certainty. A few rarely occurring syllables which are only uncertainly read have also been included.

4.5.1. Vowel Diacritics
4.5.1.1. ○ *a* (1276×)

The Kharoṣṭhī script treats the vowel /a/ as inherent in all the consonant signs. Therefore, the only explicit sign for /a/ is the independent form of the vowel 𝄃 (on which, see below § 4.5.2.1). The vowel /a/ is by far the most common, and accounts for 66% of the vowels in this manuscript.

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[2] Details of the historical developments are based on Glass 2000b. Repeated references to this work in following discussion of the individual letters have been suppressed. The reader should consult the relevant sections of part two in this work for details.

Table 14. Kharoṣṭhī script as written in Senior Scroll 5

Basic Signs

a ꘙ 1.4	i 7 1.16	u 8 2.7	e ꠸ 16.21	o ꘪ 3.25
ꘙ 1.6			꠸ 16.24	꠸ 11.33
ꘙ 6.12				
ka ꠨ 1.42	ki ꠨ 18.29	ku ꠨ 7.46	ke ꠨ 2.20	
		꠨ 23.7		
k̲a ꠨ 35.29				
kha ꠨ 4.8		khu ꠨ 5.36		
꠨ 8.35		꠨ 10.23		
ga ꠨ 1.11	gi ꠨ 35.7	gu ꠨ 3.38		
꠨ 10.15				
ga ꠨ 5.3	gi ꠨ 39.33		ge ꠨ 14ᴹ.2	
gha				
ca ꠨ 8.33	ci ꠨ 11.36		ce ꠨ 19.19	
cha ꠨ 3.13	chi ꠨ 18.15		che ꠨ 36.10	
ja ꠨ 3.9	ji ꠨ 4.37		je ꠨ 36.13	
	꠨ 6.28			
ña ꠨ 1.8			ñe ꠨ 31.33	
ṭa ꠨ 11.3	ṭi ꠨ 1.46			
ṭha ꠨ 18.4				
꠨ 35.6				
ṭ́ha ꠨ 33.60				
ḍa ꠨ 8.36	ḍi ꠨ 7.45	ḍu ꠨ 9.7	ḍe ꠨ 4.9	
꠨ 41.2				
ḍha				

Table 14. Continued

ṇa	3.4 6.27	ṇi	2.4	ṇu	23.25	ṇe	12.16	ṇo	30.35
ta	2.11 4.38	ti	8.29	tu	16.6 20.1	te	11.35	to	11.37
tha									
da	3.6			du	27.27	de	18.16		
ḏa	1.2	ḏi	3.14 5.11	ḏu	37.14	ḏe	27.32	ḏo	11.47 38.30
dha	23.2								
na									
pa	2.9 3.29	cf. pri		pu	4.1				
pha									
ba	23.36					be	34.36		
bha	16.25	bhi	5.35 10.22	bhu	7.9			bho	1.32
ma	1.14 4.21	mi	6.26	mu	5.39 30.11	me	1.40		
ya	2.14 3.12	yi	9.3	yu	35.33			yo	17.35
ra	1.3	ri	4.2 6.24	ru	20.24 23.31	re	12.5		
la	2.12 3.10	li	42.3	lu	4.25	le	24.29	lo	3.2 14^M.1 23.38

Table 14. Continued

va	1.30 / 1.41	vi	6.31	vu	9.32 / 14.50	ve	16.4		
śa	1.34	śi	4.10	śu	1.5 / 4.5	śe	1.17	śo	*27.12
ṣa	4.3					ṣe	18.46		
sa	1.9	si	*27.7	su	16.22			so	11.20 / 11.34
ṣa	1.7 / 4.39 / 20.8	ṣi	1.15 / 9.50	ṣu	9.2	ṣe	36.6	ṣo	13.16
za	3.39								
ha	1.10 / 16.23	hi	2.5 / 16.19	hu	16.8 / 20.3			ho	36.16

Conjunct Consonants

kru	*3.23	kṣa	16.3	kṣe	9.28	gra	14.42	tra	3.35
tri	*18.1	tva	2.13	dri	10.28	dva	2.8	pra	2.3
pri	3.26	rdha	34.15	rma	11.46	rva	14.13	vri	23.34
śpe	4.6	[śpru]	3.29	sta	4.22 / 31.14	sti	*28.6	spa	10.29
spi	32.32	spe	18.44						

Punctuation

| ° | 21.35 |

4.5.1.2. 𝒹 *i* (310×)

The vowel /i/ is indicated by a stroke passing through the main sign. The placement of this stroke varies, and is determined by the main sign. Normally, the diacritic is placed at the upper left (e.g., *ca* ⸖, *ci* ⸎). It is a horizontal stroke through the middle of the character in combination with the vowel base and *h-* (e.g., *a* ⸑, *i* ⸒; *ha* ⸓, *hi* ⸔). In combination with *p-* and *m-*, it is written vertically through the middle of the sign (e.g., *pra* ⸕, *pri* ⸖; *ma* ⸗, *mi* ⸘). The *i*-vowel diacritic shows consistent and normal placement throughout this manuscript. It accounts for 16% of the vowels.

There are three variations of note. First, the diacritic is twice written without touching the main sign in combination with *ṇ,* for example, *ṇi* ⸙ (11.56). Second, the stroke is unusually short in *ṇi* ⸚ (22.4). Third, the stroke of the diacritic is made by continuing the main stroke twice with *m-,* for example, *mi* ⸛ (31.29).

4.5.1.3. 𝒹 *u* (133×)

In the earliest Kharoṣṭhī records the vowel /u/ was normally indicated by a curved extension of the foot (e.g., Aśokan *a* ⸜, *u* ⸝). By the time of this manuscript, this curve had become a closed loop, usually formed by extending the foot in a clockwise direction until it meets the stem (e.g., *ka* ⸞, *ku* ⸟). In combination with those signs that have a rightward foot as a defining characteristic (see above § 4.4, Type 2), it is usually written with a separate circular stroke at the lower left (e.g., *hu* ⸠). The syllable *mu* takes a special ligatured form, in which the left side hooks down rather than up (e.g., *ma* ⸗, *mu* ⸡). This ligature is the norm in Kharoṣṭhī after the Mauryan period. The vowel /u/ accounts for 7% of the vowels in this manuscript.

The following exceptions to this general pattern have been observed. On some occasions the scribe has crossed the stem when making the loop, for example, *khu* ⸢ (5.39). At other times, the loop is not completely closed, for example, *su* ⸣ (16.22). A few times the loop has filled with ink, so that it appears solid, for example, *tu* ⸤ (18.36). In one case of the independent *u* vowel the loop is very small and solid (⸥ 36.11), so that it closely resembles a leftward foot mark (see above, § 4.4 Type 1, and text note on *[u]pajea*, Chapter 11, line 36).

In most cases, the present scribe finished the ligature *mu* with a loop at the lower left, (*mu* ✦ 26.39), though generally in Kharoṣṭhī it is finished with a hook (✦). There are a few cases where the *u*-vowel loop has been formed before the rightward foot of *h,* for example, *hu* ✦ 18.38).

4.5.1.4. ○̆ *e* (150×)

The vowel /e/ is normally rendered with a short stroke at the top of the main sign. This placement varies a little, like that of the *i*-vowel diacritic, depending on the shape of the main sign. In the present manuscript, only combinations with the diacritic placed above the main sign occur (e.g., *ca* ✦, *ce* ✦), with one exception, the independent vowel *e*. Two main types of the independent vowel *e* have been observed in the Kharoṣṭhī manuscripts. The first is formed with two strokes: first the stem, then the vowel diacritic as a horizontal stroke at the left of the stem (*e* ✦). The second type is made with a single stroke, in which the diacritic portion arches back from the foot of the stem (*e* ✦). Only the second type is found in this manuscript. The vowel /e/ makes up 8% of the vowels of this Gāndhārī text.

Historically, the *e*-vowel diacritic was attached to the main sign, and this is frequently true here, for example, *che* ✦ (36.10). Very often, however, the diacritic floats above the main sign, as in *ñe* ✦ (31.34). This latter form is sometimes reduced to little more than a dot, for example *se* ✦ (36.6). The final vowels of *yaṣaṭide* (1) and *yaṣapraṇihide* (2), are marked with very small dots, which could be stray ink (see below § 4.7.3), but given that the dot occurs with both terms, I have chosen to read them as the reduced form of the vowel (see text notes on on these terms, Chapter 8, lines 1 and 2 respectively).

4.5.1.5. ○̈ *o* (67×)

The vowel /o/ is normally written with a diagonal line attached to the main sign, descending to the left (e.g., *sa* ✦, *yo* ✦). In combination with some shapes, it is written vertically (e.g., *śa* ✦, *śo* ✦). It accounts for 3% of the vowels in this manuscript.

Variations in the rendering of this vowel diacritic in the present manuscript are minor. The diagonal form is sometimes quite short, as in *ṇo* ✦ (30.34). Once, it is horizontal, *ḍo* ✦

(11.50)—the diagonal form is found in all other occurrences of this syllable, e.g., *ḏo* [𐨯] (38.30). The vertical form is slanted in keeping with the oblique ductus of this scribe's work, for example, *yo* [𐨩] (17.36), and *śo* [𐨭] (27.12, this latter form is only partially preserved due to damage to the manuscript).

4.5.2. Basic Signs

4.5.2.1. [𐨀] *a* (181×)

The vowel base *a* is by far the most frequently occurring sign in this text, occurring almost 40% more than the next most common sign, *ṇa* (131×). The examples here are consistent with the norm for manuscript Kharoṣṭhī, that is, a single stroke having a hooked head and long stem ([𐨀]). A few of variant forms have been noted. The stem may be rather short, as in [𐨀] (1.4). The head may form a tight curl ([𐨀] 35.08) or close completely ([𐨀] 6.12).

4.5.2.2. [𐨐] *ka* (44×)

This scribe generally writes the base sign *ka* with two strokes, first an arch from the top left down to the bottom right, then the stem. This is the earliest manuscript example of this type of *ka*. It depends on an earlier re-formation of the sign in which the right arm, originally formed with a separate stroke ([𐨐]), was combined with the leftward hook at the top of the stem ([𐨐]). This former type always has a dip midway, an echo of the earlier stroke order. A further development is seen in a few cases, in which the foot mark at the end of the first arch-stroke has extended to join the top of the stem-stroke, resulting in a single stroke form, e.g., [𐨐] (14.23).

The *e*-vowel diacritic in *keśa,* [𐨐] (2.20), is positioned above the stem, but the resulting shape should not be confused with the special sign *ka* ([𐨑]), which does not occur in this text. This and particularly the modified form *ḵa* are graphically very similar to the sign for *ṣa* [𐨱] (see below § 4.5.2.33).

4.5.2.3. *ꝅ* *ka* (4×)

This modified form of *ka* is distinguished by the rightward extension of the foot. It is not well attested in Kharoṣṭhī, but other characters distinguished by this mark are more widely seen (see *ga, ḍa, ṣa* below).

In one case, *ꝅ* (23.15), the rightward foot is written with an additional stroke which suggests that its sound was only marginally distinguished from *ka*, so that this mark could have been forgotten at first, and then corrected (see below § 4.9.1 and Phonology § 5.2.1.1).

4.5.2.4. *ꙅ* *kha* (16×)

This scribe writes *kha* with a strong curl at the head that has in most cases become completely closed, *ꙅ* (4.8). This contrasts with the older, open form of the letter (*ᔕ*). This closed head represents the culmination of a trend of increasingly curled forms seen in the British Library manuscripts.

In a few cases the loop is not closed, for example, *ꙅ* (8.35). Once the start of the head is bisected by the stem, *ꙅ* (21.07).

4.5.2.5. *ꙅ* *ga* (18×)

The sign for *ga* in this manuscript closely corresponds to the basic shape of this letter (*ᘛ*), which is stable throughout the Kharoṣṭhī period.

On one occasion the hooked left side of the head has made a closed loop with the right side   (6.7). The loop at the right side of the head in *gi,* *ꙺ* (35.7), was written so tightly that is just a doubled line.

4.5.2.6. *ꝅ* *ga* (14×)

This modified form of *ga* is distinguished by the rightward extension of the foot and is therefore parallel to *ka* and other letters so distinguished (see also *ḍa* and *ṣa*, § 4.9.1, and Phonology § 5.2.1.1).

4.5.2.7. *gha* (0×)

No examples of *gh-* have been found in the manuscripts written by this scribe. As such, it provides and interesting contrast to British Library scribe 1, who writes only *gha* and never *ga* (see Allon 2001: 4.8.1).

4.5.2.8. ꙅ *ca* (34×)

This scribe writes a cursive type of *ca,* which has softened the angles of the early style of this letter (ꙅ). This type is first seen in the British Library manuscripts.

In general the right side of the head is formed by doubling back after the top stroke before descending to form the body of the letter, so that only a single pen-width is seen, ꙅ (34.28). Occasionally, this reversal is achieved with a loop, ꙅ (37.8).

4.5.2.9. ꙅ *cha* (4×)

All four occurrences of this sign are of the cursive, two-stroke type: the head stroke is connected to the stem with a loop at the top right. A second stroke crosses the stem from left to right and forms a hook on the right side. This type is widely attested in the manuscripts (Bamiyan, British Library, Khotan Dharmapada).

4.5.2.10. ꙅ *ja* (24×)

This scribe usually writes a single-stroke type of *ja.* This stroke is the same as the first stroke of *cha* (see above). In a few cases, the scribe has written the syllable *ji* with the older two-stroke type of *ja* (ꙅ), where the left arm and the stem are formed with separate strokes (ꙅ (4.37).

On at least once occasion, the scribe has made the foot with a separate stroke, resulting in a serif-like shape, ꙅ (16.36). This variant is perhaps a survival of an early type of this letter seen in the Aśokan inscriptions (ꙅ) which has continued into the era of the extant Kharoṣṭhī manuscripts, as it is also attested in the work of British Library scribe 21 (ꙅ).

4.5.2.11. 𐨗 *ña* (22×)

The earliest type of this letter is written with two strokes. The first stroke forms the right arm, the second makes the stem, and both begin with a hook open to the right (𐨗). This type occurs occasionally in the manuscripts, but more commonly, the stem stroke does not have a hook (𐨗). A cursive single-stroke type is also frequently seen in the manuscripts (𐨗). Examples of all three types are seen in this manuscript. The type with two hooks occurs six times, for example, *ña* 𐨗 (1.8). The second type with one hook is more common, occurring fourteen times, 𐨗 (26.05). The cursive type is written just three times, 𐨗 (30.33). All examples of this akṣara have the rightward footmark, suggesting that this was seen as an integral part of the sign (see above § 4.4 type 2).

4.5.2.12. 𐨚 *ṭa* (6×)

In the work of this scribe, the sign for *ṭa* has largely coincided with the sign for the voiced retroflex *ḍa* with the exception of the rightward foot on *ṭa*. This graphic merger parallels the similar fate of *ta/da* which are confused in this hand (see below § 4.5.2.17). The basic sign *ṭa* is always written with one stroke, starting from the top of the left arm. This stroke doubles back at the top of the stem and descends to form the stem, finishing with a rightward stroke. This cursive type is found in the British Library manuscripts and the Niya Documents.

4.5.2.13. 𐨛 *ṭha* (3×)

This sign *ṭha* is typically written with two strokes, first the top line and stem, then the lower left arm (𐨛). This type is found in all periods of the Kharoṣṭhī script. On one occasion, the form is miswritten, perhaps as a result of an error of some kind (see text note on *kaṭha*, Chapter 9 line 18). In this case the upper left arm seems to have been formed with a separate stroke, which joins the stem a little below the top, 𐨛 (18.4).

4.5.2.14. 𑀞 ṭha (1×)

This character is distinguished from the preceding by the vertical extension at the tip of the lower left arm. It occurs just once in this text, in a position corresponding to Sanskrit *stha* (see Phonology § 5.2.3.7).

4.5.2.15. 𑀟 ḍa (7×)

Two types of *ḍa* are known in Kharoṣṭhī. The first is made with separate strokes for the left arm and the stem. The second has combined these into a single stroke, joined at the top left by doubling back on the up-stroke, or making a small loop. Examples of both these types are found in this manuscript. The two-stroke type is seen three times, for example, *ḍa* 𑀟 (41.2). The single stroke type occurs four times, for example ḍa 𑀟 (8.36).

4.5.2.16. ḍha (0×)

There are no examples of *ḍh-* in this manuscript.

4.5.2.17. 𑀡 ṇa (131×)

The sign *ṇa* varies slightly in the size and angle of the hook that forms its head. Two types of this sign have been distinguished based on this variation. A larger hooked type, which goes back to the Aśokan inscriptions, and a smaller 'beaked' type, which is common in the manuscripts, as it is quicker to write. This scribe tends towards the latter type, 𑀡 (3.4), but there are traces of the older type in which the head is slightly more hooked, 𑀡 (10.3). On one occasion the head is a long horizontal, 𑀡 (10.13). On the merger of the retroflex and dental nasals, see Orthography § 4.9.3.

4.5.2.18. 𑀢 ta (62×)

In general the shape of *ta* is fairly stable in Kharoṣṭhī. It consists of a single stroke which begins at the top left with a slight hook or short vertical, then turns rightward to make a short horizontal stroke, and finally curves down and to the left (𑀢). In most cases, throughout the Kharoṣṭhī period, this akṣara is distinct from the sign for *da* (see below § 4.5.2.19), however, in the writing of this scribe, these signs have merged, and variations in the shapes of these

letters do not follow from their historical value. For the time being, as a matter of convenience for the modern reader the signs for *ta* and *da* have been transliterated on etymological grounds rather than by their outward appearance. It should be remembered, however, that their phonetic value may also have merged in this scribe's dialect (see below § 4.9.2 and Phonology § 5.2.1.4). Once the study of the Senior manuscripts is complete it is hoped that these uncertainties will be clarified.

On a few occasions, the scribe has written this letter in a way that is closer to the traditional shape for *ta*, for example ᵴ (21.20), but in the vast majority of cases (more than 90%), the shape is more like that of a typical *da,* ᵴ (4.38). It is also written with a reduced head-stroke, ᵭ (2.11).

4.5.2.19. *tha* (0×)

There are no examples of *th-* in this manuscript.

4.5.2.20. ᵴ *da* (14×)

The character that has been transliterated as *da* in this manuscript is graphically identical with from the sign for *ta* (see above, § 4.5.2.17). The same variations seen in the shape of *ta* are also seen in with *da*: the classic *ta*-shape, ᵴ (3.6); the classic *da*-shape ᵴ (19.11); and *da*-shape with reduced head-stroke, ᵭ (11.41).

4.5.2.21. ᵿ *ḏa* (113×)

The modified form *ḏa* differs from the normal *da* by the rightward extension of the foot. This sign is phonetically distinct, and in most cases indicates original *t-* or *d-* in intervocalic position (see Phonology § 5.2.1.4). Two varieties are found in this manuscript in almost equal numbers. In the first, the original head of *da* has been reduced to a small hook, ᵡ (9.49). In the second case, there is no trace of this hook, ᵿ (14.31). The shape of this character is indistinguishable from *tr-* (tra ᵡ 3.34) and *dr-* (e.g., *dri* ᵡ 10.31); differences in transliterations have been made on historical grounds only.

4.5.2.22. 𝟹 *dha* (6×)

The character *dha* is formed with a single stroke making two cup-shapes open to the left. Two types are distinguished, an angular type (𝟹) and a rounded type (𝟹). Both types are found in this manuscript, though the former is the more common (5:1): 𝟹 (23.2), and 𝟹 (40.07).

4.5.2.23. *na* (0×)

This scribe does not write *n-*. See § 4.9.3.

4.5.2.24. 𝑃 *pa* (53×)

This scribe writes the sign *pa* in a way that has not previously been seen in any other Kharoṣṭhī text. Like other types, it is written with two strokes, but here the arm stroke begins with a downward movement before turning rightward to make the arm. The stem then overlaps the initial downward portion of the arm (𝑃 10.37). Usually the arm is closed against the stem, but quite often it is remains open, for example, 𝑃 (20.10). On a few occasions the arm is angular rather than rounded, 𝑃 (11.44). There is a horizontal line through the top of the stem of *pu,* in 𝑃 (14.33), which is the result of some miswriting (see text note on *pugalaṣa*, Chapter 8 line 14).

4.5.2.25. *pha* (0×)

There are no examples of *ph-* in this manuscript. This sign does occur in other manuscripts by this scribe (RS 12.32, RS 20.3).

4.5.2.26. 𝑏 *ba* (5×)

Kharoṣṭhī manuscripts attest three types of *ba*. The first type has an s-shaped hook turned through 90° for the head (𝑏). The second type has softened the middle vertical into a diagonal stroke through cursivization (𝑏). In the third type, the diagonal has softened further to become a horizontal, and the initial downward movement is greatly extended (𝑏).

The second type is the norm in the Senior manuscripts, and the extension of the initial downward movement has already begun, ⟨glyph⟩ (23.37). In one case the middle portion is almost horizontal, but here the left side of the head is not very extended (⟨glyph⟩ 3917).

4.5.2.27. ⟨glyph⟩ *bha* (38×)

The writing of *bha* shows the most diverse array of types, ten in all, of any letter in the Kharoṣṭhī script. Three types of *bha* are seen in this manuscript. All of these are graphically similar to the type of the *pa* used by this scribe (see above § 4.5.2.23), but are distinguished by the addition of a horizontal top line. The first type reflects the classic shape of this letter which descends from the top line (⟨glyph⟩), but like *pa* the right arm begins with a downward stroke from the head of the letter ⟨glyph⟩ (16.49). The second type differs only slightly in that the top line is written a little lower so that it bisects the twin upper stem strokes. The clearest example in this manuscript is badly damaged, *bhi* ⟨glyph⟩ (1.18), but clearer examples can be found elsewhere in the Senior Collection, for example, ⟨glyph⟩ (RS 20.3.34). The third type is a cursive two-stroke type, in which the top line is joined to the stroke of the right arm with a loop at the top right, *bhu* ⟨glyph⟩ (9.23). Again like *pa,* the right arm can form a closed loop with the stem, though with *bha* this occurs less often, ⟨glyph⟩ (35.14).

4.5.2.28. ⟨glyph⟩ *ma* (79×)

Two types of *ma* are found in Kharoṣṭhī after the period of the Aśokan inscriptions. The basic type consists of a shallow u-shape written high in the line of writing (⟨glyph⟩). The second type differs slightly, having the right arm extended vertically (⟨glyph⟩). Both types are in found in the work of this scribe, the first being more common (approximately 3:1).

As mentioned above (§ 4.5.1.3), the combination *mu* occurs in a special ligatured form. Some variety is seen in the shapes of this syllable: it may be angular, ⟨glyph⟩ (5.42) or rounded, ⟨glyph⟩ (8.32), and it sometimes has a long onset stroke leading to the top of the right arm, ⟨glyph⟩ (8.40). The lower left end may be pointed, *⟨glyph⟩ (9.17) or more usually, looped, ⟨glyph⟩ (26.39).

4.5.2.29. ↗ₒ *ya* (42×)

By the time of the Senior manuscripts many scribes show that the basic sign *ya* had developed from an original arrow-shaped type (Λ), into a three-sided one very similar to *śa* (Π, see below § 4.5.2.33). In this manuscript the two signs cannot be distinguished and so have been transliterated on historical grounds. The shape is written with one or two strokes in approximately equal distribution (20:22). The two-stroke type is the older form, in which the first stroke forms the top line and right descender, while the second stroke adds the left descender, ⌒⌐ (3.8). In the single-stroke type, the foot of the right descender curves up to join the beginning of the left descender ↗ₒ (2.14).

4.5.2.30. ↑ *ra* (84×)

The sign *ra* is fairly consistent throughout the Kharoṣṭhī period. It is invariably written with a single stroke. This begins with a hook at the top left, forms a short horizontal, and then turns downward at the right shoulder to make the stem (つ). It often ends with a foot mark. All well preserved examples of this sign in the present manuscript conform to this type, for example ↑ (1.3).

4.5.2.31. ⌐ *la* (25×)

Two basic types of *la* are known from the Kharoṣṭhī manuscripts. The first is made with two strokes, first the left arm, then the stem (フ). The second type is made with a single stroke which connects the right end to the top of the stem with a loop, or by doubling back after a short upward movement (ァ). Both types are seen in the this manuscript, though the second is rather more common (7:18): type 1, ∮ (3.10); type 2, ∮ (14.35).

Several times, the left arm begins with a small loop, ⌐ (2.12). On one occasion this loop starts above the arm (∮ 23.08) so that it could be confused with the vowel sign *-i, li* �ɧ (42.3); however this mark is shorter, and the reading *li* is not expected (see text note on *kul[a]putraṣa*, Chapter 10, line 23).

4.5.2.32. $\vec{l}$ *va* (112×)

This scribe writes the letter *va* consistently with the usual type, that is, a single stroke consisting of a horizontal or slightly rounded head which turns at the right shoulder to make the stem ($\mathcal{7}$).

In this manuscript the head of *va* is usually long $\mathcal{7}$ (12.53). But a few times it is quite short $\mathcal{7}$ (12.49), and once so short it is hardly there at all $\mathcal{l}$ (21.34).

4.5.2.33. $\mathcal{7}$ *śa* (40×)

As mentioned above, this sign is indistinguishable from *ya* (§ 4.5.2.28). The form seen here is more like that of the historical shape of *śa,* a two-stroke form which resembles three sides of a square ($\mathcal{\Pi}$). As with *ya,* two types are seen here. The first is written with two strokes, while the second is a cursive development in which the first foot of the first leg hooks back up to the top line to begin the second leg $\mathcal{D}$ (18.11). The distribution of the two strongly favors the former type (35:5). This suggest that the cursive type may have begun with *ya* and contaminated *śa* due to its graphic and structural similarity.

4.5.2.34. $\mathcal{P}$ *ṣa* (7×)

Two types of this letter are found in this manuscript. The first is the original two-stroke type, formed with an arching top stroke and a second stroke forming the stem $\mathcal{P}$ (23.12). A cursivized type joins the two strokes by looping the top-stroke back to meet the top of the stem, *ṣe* $\tilde{\mathcal{C}}$ (38.5). The shape of the syllable closely resembles that of *ka* and *ka* (see above § 4.5.2.2), and the fact that this sign occurs with and without a rightward foot mark may be due to the influence of these similar graphemes.

4.5.2.35. $\mathcal{\xi}$ *sa* (55×)

This akṣara has traditionally been used as the prime test-letter for the dating of Kharoṣṭhī documents, since it shows distinct forms at different periods. For a discussion of the various types of *sa* and their chronological implications, see Salomon 2000: § 5.5.2.32. In this manuscript we find only forms based on the late, open type ($\mathcal{\check{7}}$). The vast majority (52:3) of examples of *sa* consist of a prominent top hook open to the right, followed by the

characteristic open head, which has become narrow and elongated. The lower portion of the sign veers to the right before making a broad hook to the left 𝄞 (1.9). At times the horizontal movements are reduced to the point that the form has become a vertical line with a slight wave to it ⤴ (26.23).

4.5.2.36. ⟨ *ṣa* (79×)

The modified letter *ṣa* is distinguished from the preceding graph by the rightward foot. Historically this has been used to mark a separate phoneme, but the evidence in this manuscript suggests that *sa* and *ṣa* were not phonetically distinguished, as they are used interchangeably (see Phonology § 5.2.1.7). The difference in transcription has been maintained in order to assist observations on the development of this grapheme.

Some variation is seen in the details of this letter. The foot may point downwards ⟨ (4.39), or slightly upwards 𝄚 (7.35). It may be large and rounded ℰ (8.8); long ⟨ (9.25), or short ⟩ (14.36).

4.5.2.37. 𝔶 *za* (1×)

This rare akṣara occurs only once in this manuscript. Here it takes the characteristic shape, consisting of a hooked left arm and a long straight stem 𝔶 (3.38).

4.5.2.38. 𝟐 *ha* (51×)

The graph for *ha* is largely consistent throughout the history of the script. It is written with a single stroke with a hooked head and in most cases, a straight rightward foot (𝟐). There are some minor variations in the way the scribe has formed this sign. The foot is a long downward diagonal in 𝒵 (7.42). The stem is elongated but the foot short in 𝓵 (16.23). The head is compressed in 𝓏 (34.23).

There are two ways the scribe has written the syllable *hu*. In most cases he has formed the usual shape of *ha* first and then added a circle for the vowel diacritic, but at least once he wrote the vowel first as a continuation from the stem (perhaps under the influence of the shape *u* 𝟛) and then added the rightward foot separately, 𝟚 (18.38).

4.5.3. Conjunct Consonants

4.5.3.1. ⌐ *kṣa* (12×)

This character is treated here as a conjunct sign for the convenience of the modern reader, although it probably was not thought of as a conjunct sign in ancient times (compare also remarks on *śpa* and *sta* below)[3]. The standard-two stroke type is found at all periods of the Kharoṣṭhī script, with a semicircular stroke open at the top and second stroke descending from the nadir of the first stroke to form the stem (Υ). The examples in this manuscript are all written in this two-stroke type, ⌐ (16.3).

4.5.3.2. ⌐ preconsonantal *r* (15×)

This scribe writes the mark for preconsonantal *r* in a way that has not been seen before, but is clearly derived from the standard form. Generally in the manuscripts this sign consists of a spiral extending from the foot of the stem turning clockwise through about 360° (*va* ↗ *rva* ↗). But in our manuscript, the scribe generally makes a loop on the left side of the stem, then descends vertically and finishes with a rightward movement; compare *dha* ᴣ and *rdha* ᴣ (34.15). On one occasion the loop on the left side is very small, *rdha* ᴣ (38.33).

In the combination *rma* the radical has no downward stem to which the *r* mark can be affixed, so it takes a specialized form wherein the right arm is extended upward and the *r* is marked by a single cross-stroke, *ma* ᴜ and *rma* ⌐ in *aṇudharma* (23.28). The same sign has been used by this scribe where we expect the reading to be *mra* on historical grounds, *rma* ⌐ in *rmaḏo* (= Skt. *mṛdu;* 11.49). A separate sign for *mr-* is attested in other Kharoṣṭhī manuscripts, but has not been found in the work by this scribe (e.g., *mra* ⌐ Khvs-G). Therefore it is not clear whether the scribe intended this sign to represent two different pronunciations (*rm-* and *mr-*), or whether this represents a phonetic merger of the two, perhaps an *m* marked with rhoticity (/mʳ/). A similar situation is seen in one of the British

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[3] It is difficult to determine exactly what the scribes understood about the structure and phonetic basis of the script. There are some indications of phonetic awareness on the part of the framers of the script, such as in the complementary signs for some of the aspirate/non-aspirate pairs, and possibly also for the vowel diacritics (Glass 2000b: 13, 17–8), but there are also counter examples such as the likely inclusion of conjunct signs in the Arapacana (Salomon 1990: 256).

Library manuscripts where the sign *rśo* 𐨮 is used where the expected form would be *śro* (Salomon In Progress).

4.5.3.3. ◌ postconsonantal *r* (29×)

Postconsonantal *r* is marked in the usual way, that is, as a rightward movement from the foot of the stem of the radical (*ka* 𐨑 *kra* 𐨕). As such it is formed identically to the rightward foot mark (see above § 4.4) and also to the marker of the modified letters k̲, g̲, d̲, and s̲. In this text, *-r-* is typically a long stroke with a slight upward curve *gra* 𐨒 (5.3). However, in the combinations *tr-* and *dr-* it is shorter and points downward; as such it is not graphically distinguishable from the modified letter d̲-: *tra* 𐨟 (3.34) and *d̲a* 𐨡 (14.31; see above § 4.5.2.21).

4.5.3.4. 𐨿 postconsonantal *v* (16×)

Postconsonantal *v* appears in the normal way, as a sharp upward stroke from the foot of the stem rising to be almost level with the head of the letter, (*ta* 𐨟 *tva* 𐨟 2.13). In the combination *rv-,* the *r* is written as a preconsonantal *r* mark at the foot of *v-* rather than as a postconsonantal *v* attached to the radical *ra;* 𐨪 (14.13).

4.5.3.5. 𐨮 *śpe* (3×)

This sign consists of a long stem with a hook at the top left and a second hook attached with a separate stroke at the middle of the right side. This is the usual form seen in Kharoṣṭhī (𐨮). This sign is conventionally transcribed as *śpa,* but, like *kṣa* and *sta,* the true phonetic value of this sign is not completely clear, though graphically it does appear to be a combination of *ś-* and *p-* elements (see Brough 1962: § 55). In the present manuscript there are two examples, both in combination with the *e-*vowel diacritic, *śpe* 𐨮 (4.6). A third possible form of this sign occurs in what has been identified as the tripartite conjunct *śpru* 𐨮 (3.29); however, there is a problem with the reading here (see text note on *pa[śpru]s̲a,* Chapter 8 line 3).

4.5.3.6. 𐨱 *sta* (6×)

Like *kṣa* and *śpa,* it is not clear whether this character was thought of as a consonant cluster in ancient times; however, it is convenient for the modern reader to treat it as such. The shape of this sign is quite consistent in the Kharoṣṭhī manuscripts. It is written with two strokes, first the top line and stem, then the horizontal stroke trough the middle of the stem (𐨱). The few examples of this sign from the present manuscript accord with this basic type, 𐨱 (4.22). In the only example in which the foot of the character is completely preserved, there is a leftward foot mark which anticipates the start of the horizontal, and which might have been made with a separate stroke, 𐨱 (31.14).

4.5.3.7. 𐨱 *spa* (20×)

The sign for *spa* does appear to be a combination of the head of *s-* (𐨱) and the right arm of *p-* (𐨱), so that it was presumably perceived as a conjunct sign within the Kharoṣṭhī scribal tradition. It occurs here in the usual two-stroke type, in which the right arm has been added as a second stroke 𐨱 (10.32). Some variation occurs in the placement of the left arm which may touch the head, or be placed slightly below it, 𐨱 (12.20).

4.6. Punctuation

The only punctuation sign in this text is a small circular mark (𐨱) level with the top of the line of writing at the end of the second sutra in line 21. It is unclear why the scribe decided to use a punctuation mark at the end of this sutra when he clearly did not feel it was necessary to mark the end of the other sutras on this manuscript.

4.7. Errors and Corrections

Like most scribes, the person responsible for writing this manuscript made occasional errors in his work. Some of these he corrected and others he apparently didn't. These errors range from the superficial such as misshaped letters and stray marks of ink to more significant lapses such as omitting a vowel diacritic or even whole letters and words.

Errors in the former category have been noted above in the discussion of the individual letters, where they have been deemed worthy of attention. The following subsections represent an attempt to classify some of the scribal imperfections apparent in this manuscript.

4.7.1. Incidental marks and other non-phonetic traces of ink

There are just a few cases where it seems the scribe has unintentionally marked the manuscript. There is a dot of ink near the right margin between lines 40 and 41. There are also some ink spots at the bottom of the recto after line 21. These spots are compounded by further smudging which seems to have picked up traces of the ink from 20 and 21 when the manuscript was folded, perhaps because it was folded when the ink was still wet.

4.7.2. Omission of vowel diacritics

There are several cases where the scribe has apparently neglected to write a vowel diacritic. At least this seems to be the best explanation for the omission of a vowel diacritic in the following cases (marked with a double underline). Please consult the text notes on the relevant terms for details.

Missing *-i:*

atararaṣaïśama = Skt. *antardhāyiṣyāmi* (6–7)

parₐdamida = Skt. *paridaṃtvā* (13)

pukharaṇₐ = Skt. *puṣkaraṇī* (12, but see Morphology § 6.1.2).

pariśpeiḍaṇₐ = Skt. *parisvedāni* (41)

paribhaviḍaṇₐ = Skt. *paribhūtāni* (42)

Since in four out of the five cases, the affected syllable is in final position, the loss of this vowel may be due to a phonetic weakening (see Phonology § 5.1.5). Another possible item for this list is *ₐmae* = BHS *imāye* (40), but this is unusual as the missing diacritic occurs in initial position. There is also another possible explanation for this form (see Morphology § 6.2.2.2 and text notes on *amae* Chapter 11 line 40).

Missing *-e* may explain the spelling *khₐḍa-* equivalent to Sanskrit *kheṭa* (4, 8), but since this stem occurs twice without *-e,* it may rather be a genuine form and not an error.

Missing *-o:*

> *ṇạ* = Skt. *no* (18)

4.7.3. Haplography and other errors involving omitted words and syllables

The edited readings of the following words assume the scribe omitted an akṣara.

> *da⟨*ta⟩* (3)
>
> *a[ṇavi]ra⟨*ḍa⟩* (10)
>
> *bhaviśa⟨*ḍi⟩* (16)
>
> *⟨*ṇa⟩* (21)
>
> *v(*i)hara⟨*ḍi⟩* (28)
>
> *abha[viḍa]⟨*tva⟩* (33)

Note that in all cases, this applies to the final akṣara of the word, suggesting that the scribe's attention had already moved on to the next term. As such, some phonetic weakening might also be involved (see Phonology § 5.1.5). *Bhaviśa⟨*ḍi⟩* occurs at the end of a line, which may also have influenced this omission. In the case of *⟨*ṇa⟩* (21) the entire word was dropped, which probably represents a copying error, probably haplography since the preceding letter is also *ṇa*. Please consult the text notes on the relevant terms for details. There are two other possible cases of omission of *ḍa, jaṇa⟨*ḍa⟩sạ* and *paśa⟨*ḍa⟩sạ,* but another explanation may apply here (see text note on *jaṇạsạ bhikṣave paśạsạ asavaṇa kṣao vaḍemi,* Chapter 11, line 29).

Several other cases of haplography were noticed and corrected by the scribe with interlinear additions, see below for details (§ 4.7.5).

4.7.4. Dittography and other errors involving inserted syllables

The following editorial readings assume erroneous insertion of syllables.

> *atara⟨˘ra⟩sạiśama* (6–7)
>
> *⟨˘a⟩ ti avimucati* (8)
>
> *praca⟨˘ja⟩asạ* (16)
>
> *⟨˘a⟩ abhaviḍatva* (39)

Both *atara⟨¯ra⟩ṣaïśama* and *⟨¯a⟩ abhaviḏatva* seem to reflect dittography, however, there is another possible explanation for the latter example (see text note on *a,* Chapter 11, line 39). A more complex case is found in *praca⟨ja⟩aṣa,* for while *ca* and *ja* are graphically separate, they were probably not distinguished phonetically in the dialect of this scribe. As such, this represents a repeated sound, but may reflect uncertainty regarding the 'correct' spelling of this term (see text note on this term, Chapter 9 line 16). The first example, *⟨¯a⟩ ti avimucati,* is probably the result of the scribe at first forgetting to write *ti* and instead moving on to the *a* of *avimucati.* At which point he realized his error, left the erroneous *a* and wrote *ti* followed by *avimucati* in full. If this is the correct interpretation here, then he made no attempt to mark this *a* as an error. However this is not the only explanation; see text note on +*riṣa a* (Chapter 8 line 8).

4.7.5. Corrections

This scribe has made corrections to the text in two ways. In most cases where the error involves a single akṣara, he has written the correct akṣara on top of an erroneous sign. Other corrections of one or more akṣaras have been made with superlinear insertions.

The following akṣaras appear to be corrections by overwriting other signs.

ya perhaps corrected from *a* in *tvayapaya̱ta* (2)

ya corrected from *a* in *ya* (9)

a corrected from *ra* in *aṣo* (14)

su corrected from *ṇa* in *[su]hae* (17)

ṭha is perhaps corrected from another sign in *ka[ṭha]* (18)

ya corrected from another sign or simply smudged in *[ya]* (23)

ña corrected from *ṇe* in *vi[ña]ṇe* (24)

ti was perhaps corrected from *ḏi* in *pariyaṇa[t]i* (24)

spi perhaps corrected from another sign in *ki[spi]* (32)

[t]aṣa may be corrected from *ña* in *aṇuyu[t]aṣa* (35)

The following superlinear insertions occur in the present manuscript. Please consult the text notes on the relevant terms for details.

ṇa of *ṣamaeṇa* at the end of line 13.

ta of *sarvatratavi* in the first half of line 14.

abha[viḍa] written above *abha(*viḍatva)* in the second half of line 33.

kuśalaṇa [dharmaṇa kaḍareṣe kuśalaṇa dharma]+: written above *abhaviḍatva caḍoṇa spaḍoṭhaṇa* at the end of line 33.

ṇa in *aṇaṇuyu[t]aṣa* towards the end of line 35.

[ṇo] from *ḍasa [ṇo] ṇa* near the end of line 36.

The nidāna lines (15, 22, and 28) are written smaller than the main text but are not considered to be interlinear notations. Also, the marginal notations (14^M and 27^M) are continuations of the text due to running out of space, rather than corrections. On both of these details see above (§ 4.2).

4.8. Paleographic Dating

The Senior manuscripts can be reliably dated to about 140 A.D. on the basis of the inscription on the pot in they were found and a recent radiocarbon test of two samples of bark from the manuscript fragments in this collection (see Introduction). Therefore, dating based on the paleographic evidence is unnecessary. However, the relatively precise dating of this collection is unusual for Kharoṣṭhī manuscripts.

The table 15 compares the letters *ka, ca, cha, ya,* and *sa* with examples from other manuscripts which have roughly established dates, namely, the British Library collection and the Bamiyan Kharoṣṭhī fragments in the Schøyen collection.

The dated fragments from the Schøyen Collection (MS 18, 22, 23) are the 2 sigma values from recent radiocarbon tests carried out by the Australian Nuclear Science and Technology Organisation (see Allon, Salomon, and Zoppi forthcoming). Due to the current lack of other historical data bearing on these fragments, the given ranges cannot be further narrowed with confidence. Nonetheless, they fall within the expected parameters for the script, and complement the data from the other manuscripts. The table shows—especially the forms of *ka* and *ca*—that the scribe of the Senior Collection has the most cursive hand of the currently dated manuscripts. This supports, but doesn't yet prove general assumptions in the

development of the Kharoṣṭhī script, such as the tendency towards more cursive and simplified forms in later documents. Further study of these and other scribes is a desideratum for the field.

Table 15. Concordance of test letters from dated manuscripts

Scribe	Date (A.D.)	*ka*	*ca*	*cha*	*ya*	*sa*
BL 1	c. 25–40	ろ	ろ	ゟ	∧	ろ
BL 2	c. 25–40	ゟ	ろ	ゟ	∫	ろ
BL 9	c. 25–40	ゟ	ろ	ゟ	⁊	ろ
BL 21	c. 25–40	ゟ	ろ	ゟ (*chi*)	♫	ろ
MS 22	c. 53–234	ゟ	ろ	ゟ	♪	ろ
MS 23	c. 72–245	ゟ	ろ	—	♪	ろ
RS	c. 140	ゟ	⁊	ゟ	♪	ろ
MS 18	c. 210–417	ゟ	ろ	ゟ (*che*)	♪	ろ

4.9. Orthography

The following comments summarize the main orthographic peculiarities seen in the work of this scribe. A full commentary on the orthography of this collection must wait until all of the Senior texts have been studied in detail. Previous descriptions of the orthography of Kharoṣṭhī manuscripts have been published in Salomon (1999: 120–4; 2000 § 5.9), Allon (2001: § 4.8), and Lenz (2003: §§ 3.5, 8.9).

Like other Kharoṣṭhī scribes (e.g., the scribes of the EĀ-G and Dhp-G^K), the scribe of the Senior manuscripts did not indicate anusvāra (see Glass 2000b: § 4.1). The presence of an unwritten nasal, however, can occasionally be detected since it inhibits phonetic change in combination with stops (see § 5.2.3.2).

4.9.1. Distribution of the velar consonants *k/k̲* and *g/g̲*

It is also possible, but not certain that this scribe used modified signs *k̲* and *g̲,* to make a phonetic distinction for intervocalic *k* and *g;* however, the evidence is inconclusive on the basis of this manuscript alone (see §§ 5.2.1.1, 5.2.2). It is also possible that the rightward

extension from the base of the stem is simply a foot mark (§ 4.4, type 2). A final determination as to whether these are separate graphemes awaits the study of the other texts in this collection; in the mean time, a distinction has been maintained. The use of *g* is attested in other Gāndhārī texts, but so far, the sign *k̲* may be unique to this scribe.

4.9.2. Distribution of the dental consonants *t, d,* and *d̲*

This scribe does not make the usual distinction between *t* and *d*. Some signs are more *t*-shaped (כ; see above § 4.5.2.18) and others more *d*-shaped (ꙅ; § 4.5.2.20), but the distribution does not match the etymological values and rather suggests that the shapes of these letters were merging, perhaps partly influenced by a phonetic merger. A distinction has been made in the transliteration based on historical values for the convenience of the modern reader, but it is doubtful whether such a distinction existed for the scribe.

This scribe did distinguish a form of the dental *d* with a rightward stroke at the foot of the letter (ꙅ̣), which has been transcribed as *d̲* (see § 4.5.2.21). This modified letter is used in most cases of original intervocalic *t* and *d* (see Phonology § 5.2.1.4), and may have been pronounced as a fricative /ð/. The unmodified *t*/*d* is usually maintained in initial position, in combination with an unmarked nasal, and when it represents a geminate.

4.9.3. Distribution of the nasal consonants *ṇ* and *n*

The Kharoṣṭhī script has separate signs for the retroflex (ﺍ) and dental (ﺱ) nasals and both are attested throughout the history of the script. However, after the Aśokan period the distinction between these two sounds was leveled, and the distribution of the two became inconsistent (Konow 1929: civ). Many scribes, including the scribe of this manuscript, use one or the other sign exclusively. Consequently, the use of the "retroflex" or "dental" signs does not indicate phonetic value, but rather scribal preference (see Salomon 2000: § 5.9.1).

4.9.4. Distribution of the sibilants *s* and *s̲*

The modified sibilant *s̲* originally had a distinct phonetic value, probably representing a voiced sibilant /z/. By the time of the British Library manuscripts this distinctiveness was beginning to disappear, so that, for example, in the Khvs-G the sign *s̲* occurs where expected

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on etymological grounds with "fair, though not complete, consistency" (Salomon 2000: 75). This situation has further weakened by the time of this manuscript, so that the two forms (*s* and *s̱*) are used interchangeably in initial position, (e.g., *samepa̱saṇaṇa* l. 34, and *s̱ame-pa̱saṇaṇa* l. 38), although some awareness of the historical value appears to have been maintained, as the modified form is used exclusively in intervocalic position. Brough commented that in the Khotan Dharmapada the distribution of the two signs was "determined by graphic considerations," so that in the dialect of his manuscript all trace of phonetic distinctiveness had been lost (1962: 67).

4.9.5. Deaspiration

This scribe has sometimes written a plain stop where historically, an aspirate is expected. This appears to be due to a lack of distinction made in the aspirate/non-aspirate pairs on the part of this scribe. For example, in another manuscript from the Senior collection the scribe wrote *bikhu-* (RS 2.2) for Sanskrit *bhikṣu-*, but always spelled it 'correctly' in this manuscript, *bhikhu* (1). In this manuscript the following deaspirations occur: *ṇth > ṭ*, (see § 5.2.3.2); *ph > p*, (see § 5.2.1.5); *sth > ṭ* (see § 5.2.3.7).

4.9.6. Spelling inconsistencies

There are also numerous examples of spelling variation in the inflectional endings of this text, however, since the instability of final vowels is a well attested phenomenon in Gāndhārī these will not be discussed here (see Fussman 1989: 460). Instead the reader is referred to discussion of the morphology of this manuscript (chapter 6), where full details of variant endings have been given. Otherwise the spelling of words is fairly consistent. The exceptions to this are due to alternations in pairs of phonemes which are either marginally distinguished or have become leveled, for example:

g/g (see §§ 4.9.1, 5.2.1.1): *-gada* (6) and *-gada* (6) = Skt. *gata*

c/j (see § 5.2.1.2): *cito* (11) and *jita* (33) = Skt. *citta*

s/s̱ (see §§ 4.9.4, 5.2.1.7): *sama̱si* (10) and *s̱ama̱si* (5) = Skt. *samādhiḥ*

h/Ø (see §§ 5.1.1, 5.2.1.7): *pacaha̱sa* (20) and *pacaa̱sa* (17) = Skt. *prajahatha*

CHAPTER 5
Phonology

The following analysis gives a complete account of the phonological characteristics of this manuscript. They are broadly similar to that of other Gāndhārī documents such as the British Library manuscripts, but there are a few features of this text which deserve special attention. This study will be superseded once the study of this group of texts is complete.

The exceptions to expected developments can often be explained on the basis of two general rules. First, the technical terms and other words or expressions strongly associated with Buddhism tend to reflect developments based on a non-Gāndhārī Middle Indic source rather than etymological developments within Gāndhārī from Old Indo-Aryan. Second, technical terms for the parts of the body and other taboo words often show different and unexpected developments. This is perhaps due to their rarity or taboo status which has lead to a broader range of accepted forms.

5.1. Vowels

While the Kharoṣṭhī script was capable of indicating vowel length, this feature of the script was rarely used, and is not seen at all in the Senior manuscripts. Thus the basic vowels *a, i,* and *u* may be either long or short in Gāndhārī. Since this text is entirely written in prose there is no way to determine the actual length of these vowels other than on etymological grounds. In the following analysis, long vowels are treated separately based on their Sanskrit cognates, however no distinction in length is indicated for their reflexes in Gāndhārī. The following table presents a summary of the developments of initial and medial vowels in this manuscript. Where more than one reflex is attested, they are given in order of frequency.

Table 16. Reflexes of OIA vowels in Senior fragment 5

Original OIA Vowel	Reflex(es) in RS 5	
	Initial	Medial
a	*a*	*a, e, i, u*

Table 16. Continued

ā	*a*	*a, e*
i	*i, hi, Ø,*	*i, a*
ī	—	*i, e*
u	*u*	*u, o, a*
ū	*u*	*u*
ṛ	*hir*	*ri, ra, ar, i, ru, a, i*
e	*e*	*e, i, a*
ai	—	—
o	*o*	*o, u, e*
au	*u*	—

5.1.1. Initial Vowels

In initial position, the vowels are generally stable, for example:

a > a (35 words, 68 occurrences), *aśua* = Skt. *aśubhā* (1)

ā > a (8 words, 15 occurrences), *ahaṟa* = Skt. *āhāra* (7)

i > i (6 words, 10 occurrences), *iśe* = Skt. *iha* (1)

u > u (3 words, 5 occurrences), *ukaṭaḏi* = Skt. *utkaṇṭhati* (11)

ū > u (1 word, 2 occurrences), *udva* = Skt. *ūrdhvam* (2)

e > e (6 words, 14 occurrences), *eva* = Skt. *eva* (1)

o > o (once), *oḏaṇa* = Skt. *odana* (8)

There are a few exceptions to this pattern. Etymological initial *i* is sometimes written with prefixed *h*, perhaps as a hypercorrection conditioned by a pattern of loss of *h* in initial position, see below (§ 5.2.1.7): *himaspi* = Skt. *imasmim* (17), *hiḏam* = Skt. *idam* (27), *hidriaṇa* = Skt. *indriyānām* (34). However, this insertion is not applied consistently: *iḏam* = Skt. *idam* (21), *idriaṇa* = Skt. *indriyānām* (39).

A related phenomenon occurs in both occurrences of a word with underlying initial *ṛ* (*hirdhaüpaḏaṇa* = Skt. *ṛddhipādānām*/P *iddhipādānam*, 34, 38). See below § 5.1.2.8 on the developments of OIA *ṛ*.

Initial *i* has been dropped in *maṇa* = Skt. *imāni* (40). This, most likely, is the result of vowel sandhi with the presumably long *a* of the preceding *kukuḍia* = Skt. *kukkuṭyā* (see § 5.6 below), compare *catvarime* = P *cattār'imāni* (EĀ-G 38).

The interpretation of *uḍari* which has been adopted in this edition equates it with Sanskrit *audarīyaka-*/Pāli *odarika-,* in which case we have the development *au > u*. Since the *vṛddhi* dipthongs *ai* and *au* are absent from Gāndhārī, the expected development of *au-* would be *o-*. On the other hand, the correspondence may be *uḍari* = Skt. *udarya-*/P *udariya-,* in which case the reflex would be regular; see text notes on *uḍari* Chapter 8 line 3 for details.

5.1.2. Medial Vowels

In the majority of cases (75%) the medial vowels in this manuscript are stable, but all vowels except OIA *ū* show some variation in their reflexes in medial position. Examples of stable vowels with their frequencies are as follows:

a > a (145 words, 408 occurrences), *kaḍara* = Skt. *katarah* (1)

ā > a (71 words, 145 occurrences), *ṣamaṣi* = Skt. *samādhiḥ* (1)

i > i (52 words, 113 occurrences), *bhikhu* = Skt. *bhikṣuḥ* (1)

ī > i (7 words, 14 occurrences), *priao* = Skt. *plīhakaḥ* (3)

u > u (33 words, 68 occurrences), *aśua* = Skt. *aśubhā* (1)

ū > u (12 words, 22 occurrences), *pu[ya]* = Skt. *pūyaḥ* (4)

e > e (22 words, 33 occurrences), *keśa* = Skt. *keśa* (2)

o > o (5 words, 6 occurrences), *loma* = Skt. *lomāni* (3)

5.1.2.1. Palatalization of *ă*

For previous discussions, see Konow 1929: xcvi; Burrow 1937: §§ 6, 8, 9; Brough 1962: § 22a; Fussman 1989: §§ 19.3, 28, 30.2; Salomon 2000: § 6.1.1; Allon 2001: § 5.1.1; Lenz 2003: §§ 4.1.1, 9.1.1.

There are ten cases of palatalization of *a* in this manuscript. Most of these occur following *y,* and the development may be summarized as *ya > e,* for example, *paridame[ḍi]* = Skt. *paridāmyati* (11). In the case of *pracaeṣa* = Skt. *prajahatha* (20), the effect of the palatal *j* seems to have been delayed. On the other hand, this might simply be a spelling mistake as the five other occurrences of this word are all have *a* and not *e* in this position: *pacaaṣa* (17), *pacahaṣa* (20, 21), *pajaaṣa* (16), *pracajaaṣa* (16).

The contraction of *aya* > *e* is normal in Gāndhārī, and attested in this manuscript in connection with the root √*vad.* This verb appears in all cases with the stem *vaḍe-,* reflecting a Sanskrit equivalent *vadaya-.* This indicates an extension of the class X verbs, as no causative is implied here. Parallel formations of the root √*vad* are well attested in Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit and Pāli (BHSD § 38.21, Geiger 1994: § 139). The attested forms here are *vaḍemi* (= Skt. *vadāmi* (27, 29 [2×], 31), and *vaḍesi* (= Skt. *vadasi,* 32).

There is a possible example of the contraction *āya* > *e, aṇuaḍe* (= P/BHS *anupādāya*), but see text notes on *ṇa aṇuaḍehi aṣavehi jita vimucaḍi* on the difficulties associated with this term (Chapter 11, line 33).

Palatalization has not occurred in all cases, for example, *payata* = Skt. *paryantam* (l. 2), *paśaḍi* = Skt. *paśyati* (l. 10), *vujaḍi* = Skt. *ucyate* (l. 8).

5.1.2.2. Alternation of *a* and *i*

For previous discussion, see Allon 2001: § 5.1.2.

The -*i*- stem of *kim* persists in the oblique cases resulting in four occurrences of *i* where Sanskrit has *a* (see Morphology § 6.2.4.1).

Both occurrences of *hirdhaüpaḍaṇa* (= Skt. *ṛddhipādānām,* 34, 38) show loss of *i* suggesting that this is not simply a case of vowel diacritic omission (see Paleography § 4.6.1), but rather an accepted form of the word. On the difficulties of the interpretation of this word, see text note on *hirdhaa.[p.]++* (Chapter 11, line 34).

5.1.2.3. Alternation of *a* and *u*

For previous discussion, see Allon 2001: § 5.1.4.

There is a possible example of *u* written for *a, puḍua* = Skt. *puṭakaḥ* (9). However in view of a general pattern of variation among taboo words, and some uncertainty regarding the interpretation of this word, this alternation is not secure (see text note on *puḍipuḍua,* Chapter 8, line 9).

The first syllable of *pa[śpru]ṣa* (= Skt. *phuphusam,* 3) shows *a* where Sanskrit has *u,* however, the etymological background for this word is complex; see text note on *pa[śpru]ṣa* (Chapter 8, line 3) for details.

5.1.2.4. Alternation of *a* and *e*

For previous discussion, see Allon 2001: § 5.1.3.

Original *e* appears as *a* in this manuscript in one word, *khaḍa-* (= Skt. *kheṭa-,* 4, 8), which should perhaps be understood as a scribal error (see Paleography § 4.6.1). The ending *e* occurs three times for the nominative singular feminine, where Sanskrit and Pāli have *ā* (see Morphology § 6.1.1.1.3).

Original *a* is written *e* once, in *eve* (35) for Sanskrit *evam*/Pāli *evaṃ* (see text note on *eve,* Chapter 11, line 35).

5.1.2.5. Alternation of *ĭ* and *e*

For previous discussions, see Konow 1929: xcvi–xcvii; Burrow 1937: §§ 1, 3; Brough 1962: § 21; Fussman 1989: § 30.1; Salomon 2000: § 6.1.4; Allon 2001: § 5.1.6; Lenz 2003: §§ 4.1.3, 9.1.2.

There are examples of *e* in place of etymological *ī,* and *i* written for original *e.* Both alternations occur multiple times, each with just one word: *ramaṇea* = Skt. *ramaṇīyam* (12 [6×]), and *kaliṇa* = Skt. *kālena* (41, 42; see Morphology § 6.1.1.2).

5.1.2.6. Alternation of *i* and *o*

There is one term which appears to show alternation of *i* and *o*, *spaḍoṭhaṇaṇa* = Skt. *smṛtyupasthānānām*/P *satipaṭṭhānānaṃ* (33). However, *o* in this case may reflect the reduction *upa* > *o*, or perhaps rather *ava* > *o* from an underlying *smṛtyavasthāna* (see § 5.1.4). In either case the original *i/y* would have been elided (see § 5.2.3.5).

5.1.2.7. Alternation of *ŭ* and *o*

For previous discussions, see Konow 1929: xcvii; Burrow 1937: §§ 2, 4; Brough 1962: § 21; Fussman 1989: § 30.1; Salomon 2000: § 6.1.2; Allon 2001: § 5.1.8; Lenz 2003: §§ 4.1.2, 9.1.3.

The present manuscript shows both *o* for original *u* and *u* for original *o*. The former is observed in all occurrences of the word *caḍoṇa* = Skt. *caturṇām* (33, 34 [2×], 38 [2×]). The latter alternation is seen in *[kr]umao* (3) where the cognate Sanskrit term is *klomaka-*. The

same alternation is previously attested in the EĀ-G, *ghudama* (= Skt. *gautama-*/Pāli *gotama-*, 21, 24).

5.1.2.8. Alternation of *e* and *o*

This manuscript contains examples of both *e* for etymological *o* and *o* for original *e,* both of which are unusual for Gāndhārī but occur several times in the work of this scribe (see Allon In Progress). The first development is seen, in internal position, in *bejagaṇa* (34) equivalent to Sanskrit *bodhyaṅgānām* (see text note). The counter development is seen in the locative of the pronoun *tad* which appears as both *te* (11, 13) and *[to]* (11). The primary form is presumably *te* and *to* the derivative (for details see Morphology § 6.2.2.1). A similar pairing is also found in *vedaṇe* (17) and *[v](*eḏa)[ṇ]o,* both nominative singular feminine (30, see Morphology § 6.1.1.1.3). This alternation may also account for the locative *ruo* (= Skt. *rūpe,* 23, 24).

5.1.3. Developments of Old Indo-Aryan *ṛ*

For previous discussions, see Konow 1929: xcvii; Burrow 1937: § 5; Salomon 2000: § 6.1.5; Allon 2001: § 5.1.9; Lenz 2003: §§ 4.1.4, 9.1.4.

Old Indo-Aryan *ṛ* has a wide range of reflexes in this manuscript. The following list shows examples of the standard MIA developments of *ṛ* (see Pischel 1965 § 56; Geiger 1994: 12–3; von Hinüber 2001: § 122–6).

a (1 word, 1 occurrence), *spaḏoíhaṇaṇa* = Skt. *smṛtyupasthānānām* (33)

i (2 words, 2 occurrences), *śigaṇa* = Skt. *śṛghāṇikā;*[1] *[hiḏ](*aya)* = Skt. *hṛdayam* (3).

ru (1 word, 2 occurrences), *rukṣa* = Skt. *vṛkṣa* (1, 5)

ri (2 words, 9 occurrences), e.g., *drispa* = Skt. *dṛṣṭvā* (10)

Gāndhārī *karita* is equivalent to Sanskrit *kṛtvā,* which like Pāli *karitvā* (11, 13) shows the development *ṛ > ar* before the suffix *-itvā*.

The following non-standard developments are also observed in the Gāndhārī text. In *rmaḏo* (= Skt. *mṛdu,* 11, 13 [2×]), the development is *ṛ > ra.* However, the scribe has used a

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[1] See text notes on *śigaṇa* (Chapter 8, line 4) on the complexities regarding the underlying form of this word.

sign formally analyzed as *rm-* rather than *mr-* (see Paleography § 4.4.3.2). While this transcription suggests a metathesis, this is almost certainly graphic only, but a pronunciation with initial *r* cannot be excluded (see below § 5.3).

Initial *r̥* has become *hir-* in *hirdhaupaḏaṇa* (= Skt. *r̥ddhipādānām,* 34, 38). The development is *r̥ > ir,* followed by a secondary addition of *h* before *i* (see above § 5.1.1).

5.1.4. Reductions

For previous discussions, see Konow 1929: xcvii; Burrow 1937: § 7; Salomon 2000: § 6.1.6; Allon 2001: § 5.1.10; Lenz 2003: § 9.1.5.

There are several cases where VCV sequences have been reduced to a single vowel in the present text. They may be summarized as follows:

aya > e (1 word, 5 occurences), e.g., *vaḏemi* = Skt. *vadāmi* (27, see above § 5.1.2.1)

ava > o (2 words, 3 occurences), e.g., *abhoaśa* = Skt. *abhyavakāśa* (1, 6)

avo > e (once), *eyi* = Skt. *avocat* (21)

avo > o (once), *[o]ya* = Skt. *avocat* (32)

There is a possible example of *upa > o* in *spaḏoṭhaṇaṇa* = Skt. *smr̥tyupasthānānām* (33) but this may rather reflect *ava > o,* based on an underlying form, **smr̥tyavasthāna* (see also § 5.1.2.6).

A further reduction may be found in *alu > o*, where Gāndhārī *o* is cognate with Sanskrit *khalu*/Pāli *kho* (31), however this term may be a reflection of the source dialect as related forms occur in other MIA dialects, especially Pāli (see Pischel 1965 §§ 94, 148; Geiger 1994: § 20).

5.1.5. Deletion of Final Vowels

For previous discussions, see Konow 1929: xcvii; Burrow 1937: § 7; Salomon 2000: § 6.1.6; Allon 2001: § 5.1.10; Lenz 2003: § 9.1.5.

There are a few cases which suggest the final vowel was weakly pronounced, or deleted entirely. The main evidence for this comes from variations in the inflectional endings, especially in the Nominative and Accusative singular of the masculine, neuter, and feminine stems in *-a* (see Morphology § 6.1.1). There are other examples where the vowel *i* is not

written where expected, which might be explained as simple scribal omission, or conditioned due to phonetic weakening (see Paleography § 4.7.2).

5.2. Consonants

5.2.1. Single Consonants in Initial and Medial Position

The following chart summarizes the reflexes of original single consonants in initial and medial positions as encountered in this manuscript.

Table 17. Reflexes of OIA consonants in Senior fragment 5

Original OIA Consonant	Reflex(es) in RS 5	
	Initial	Medial
k	*k*	*Ø, k, k̲, g, h, g*
kh	*kh, h, Ø*	*h, g̲*
g	*g*	*g, y, g̲*
c	*c, j*	*y*
ch	*ch*	—
j	*j*	*y, j, c*
ṭ	—	*ḍ*
ṇ	—	*ṇ*
t	*t, d̲*	*d̲, t, ḍ, Ø, s, s̲*
th	—	*s̲, s*
d	*d*	*d̲, ḍ, y, Ø*
dh	*dh*	*s̲, s, dh*
n	*n*	*ṇ*
p	*p*	*v, Ø*
ph	*p*	—
b	*b*	—
bh	*bh*	*v, bh, Ø*
m	*m*	*m*
y	*y*	*Ø, y*
r	*r*	*r*
l	*l*	*l*
v	*v, r*	*v, Ø*
ś	*ś*	*ś, s, s̲*
ṣ	—	*ṣ, s̲*
s	*s, s̲, ś*	*s̲*
h	*h, Ø*	*h, Ø, ś, s̲*

Initial consonants tend to be stable, although there are plenty of exceptions. Intervocalic consonants show a variety of developments, full details of which are given below.

5.2.1.1. Velars

For previous discussions, see Konow 1929: xcviii–xcix; Burrow 1937: § 16; Brough 1962: §§ 30–1, 38, 41; Fussman 1989: 457; Salomon 2000: § 6.2.1.1; Allon 2001: § 5.2.2.1; Lenz 2003: §§ 4.2.1.2, 9.2.1.1.

In initial position, *k-* is stable in all cases (22 words, 36 occurrences). In medial position it shows six developments, these are, in order of frequency:

-k- > Ø (5 words, 7 occurrences), e.g., *abhoaśa* = Skt. *abhyavakāśa* (1)

-k- > *-k-* (3 words, 7 occurrences), e.g., *ekagraḏa* = Skt. *ekāgratā* (5)

-k- > *-ḵ-* (3 words, 3 occurrences), e.g., *(*la)[s](*i)[ḵ]ae* = Skt. *lasīkā* (4)

-k- > *-g-* (once), *loga* = Skt. *loke* (10)

-k- > *-g̱-* (3 words, 3 occurrences), e.g., *loge* = Skt. *loke* (14^M)

-k- > *-h-* (1 word, 8 occurrences), e.g., *tuspahu* = Skt. *yuṣmākam* (16)

The modified forms *ḵ* and *g̱,* marked with a rightward stoke at the base of the character, seem to indicate fricative pronunciations, but this is not certain. A final determination as to whether this mark is a foot mark or marks a phonetic distinction will be possible once data from the other manuscripts in this collection have been analyzed (see Paleography §§ 4.4, 4.5.2.3, and 4.5.2.6).

Original *kh* in initial position may be retained, elided, or become *h-*. In medial position it becomes *-h-* or *-g-*.

kh- > *-kh-* (2 words, 2 occurrences), e.g., *khaḍe* = Skt. *kheṭaḥ* (4)

kh- > Ø (once), *o* = Skt. *khalu* (31)

kh- > *h-* (once), *hu* = Skt. *khalu* (20)

-kh- > *-h-* (2 words, 6 occurrences), e.g., *suhae* = Skt. *sukhaye* (16)

-kh- > *-g-* (once), *ṇaga* = Skt. *nakhāḥ* (3)

Initial *g* is stable (3 words, 3 occurrences). In the case of *-gaḏa* = Skt. *gataḥ* (1 [2×], 6 [2×]), the word is in compound (*sahagaḏa*) so the initial has perhaps been written *-g-* due to the enclitic environment. The developments of medial *-g-,* including the preceding *gaḏa,* are:

  -g- > *-g-* (3 words, 8 occurrences), e.g., *aṇagara* = Skt. *a-nagaram* (10)

  -g- > *-g̱-* (2 words, 6 occurrences), e.g., *sahagaḏa* = Skt. *sahagata* (5)

  -g- > *-y-* (2 words, 4 occurrences), e.g., *bhayava* = Skt. *bhagavān* (21)

  -g- > *-ḵ-* (2 words, 2 occurrences), *aḵaraspa* = Skt. *ăgārāt* (23), and *bhavaṇaṇuyoḵa* = Skt. *bhāvanānuyogam* (35)

Since the distribution of *-g-* and *-g̱-* is not clearly distinguished, we cannot be certain, on the basis of this manuscript alone, that there is a phonetic difference between the two (see § 4.9.1), but rather part of the wider phenomenon of variation in foot marks (see § 4.4). However, further study of the other documents in the Senior Collection is necessary before a final determination can be made on this.

5.2.1.2. Palatals

 For previous discussions, see Konow 1929: xcix–c; Burrow 1937: § 17; Brough 1962: § 32; Salomon 2000: § 6.2.1.2; Allon 2001: § 5.2.2.2; Lenz 2003: §§ 4.2.1.3, 9.2.1.2.

Original initial *c* is either stable (3 words, 11 occurrences) or becomes *j* (3 words, 6 occurrences). The distribution is apparently random, such that the same word may be spelled both ways, *cito* = Skt. *cittam* (11); *jita̱sa* = Skt. *cittasya* (4). Word-internally, *-c-* always becomes *-y-* (5 words, 7 occurrences), for example, *tvaya* = Skt. *tvaca* (2). This suggests that *c* and *j* were minimally distinguished in this scribe's dialect.

In all three occurrences of the three words with initial original *ch,* it is retained, for example, *chaḏi* = Skt. *chaviḥ* (3). It is not attested in medial position.

Initial *j* is stable (8 words, 11 occurrences), as in *jala* = Skt. *jālāḥ* (3). Word-internally, it shows the following developments.

  -j- > *-y-* (3 words, 5 occurrences), e.g., *raya* = Skt. *rajaḥ* (3)

  -j- > *-j-* (2 words, 3 occurrences), e.g., *ajaṇavaḏa* = Skt. *ajanapadam* (10)

  -j- > *-c-* (1 word, 5 occurrences), e.g., *pracajaa̱sa* = Skt. *prajahatha* (16)

These data confirm that the sounds of *c* and *j* had merged in the dialect of this scribe. This has lead to numerous spelling inconsistencies and confusions connected with these sounds, the clearest illustration of which are the various forms equivalent to Sanskrit *prajahatha: pracajaasa* (16), *pajaasa* (16), *pacaasa* (17), *pacahasa* (20, 21), *pracaesa* (20).

5.2.1.3. Retroflexes

For previous discussions, see Konow 1929: c; Burrow 1937: § 18; Salomon 2000: § 6.2.1.3; Allon 2001: § 5.2.2.3; Lenz 2003: § 4.2.1.4.

No retroflex sounds occur in this manuscript in initial position. In all four cases original intervocalic *ṭ*, it has become voiced, for example, *khaḍe* = Skt. *kheṭaḥ* (4).

While all cases of original intervocalic *ṇ* (11 words, 19 occurrences) give the appearance of having been preserved, for example, *praṇihiḍa* = Skt. *praṇihitam* (2), this cannot be ascertained since the dental and retroflex nasals have merged (see Paleography § 4.9.3). As in most other Kharoṣṭhī manuscripts, the conventional sign for one or the other nasal is used exclusively (Glass 2000b: § 2.15). This scribe uses the Kharoṣṭhī letter conventionally regarded as the retroflex, but we cannot be sure it was pronounced as such.

5.2.1.4. Dentals

For previous discussions, see Konow 1929: c–ci; Burrow 1937: §§ 19, 50; Brough 1962: §§ 33, 42–3; Salomon 2000: § 6.2.1.4; Allon 2001: § 5.2.2.4; Lenz 2003: §§ 4.2.1.5, 9.2.1.3.

The dental sounds are stable in initial position in almost all cases.

t- > t- (7 words, 26 occurrences), e.g., *taṣa* = Skt. *tathā* (7)

d- > d- (7 words, 15 occurrences), e.g., *da⟨*ta⟩* = Skt. *dantāḥ* (3)

dh- > dh- (1 word, 6 occurrences), e.g., *dharmaṇa* = Skt. *dharmānām* (35)

The dental nasal is a special case. There are six words with original initial dental *n*. As discussed above (5.2.1.3), this scribe uses the same sign for both the retroflex and dental nasals, so that all 25 occurrences of these six words appear with *ṇ,* and the actual pronuncitation cannot be determined (e.g., *ṇaga* = Skt. *nakhāḥ*, 3).

In one case original initial *t* has become *ḍ, ḍasa* = Skt. *tasya* (36). It is perhaps possible that in this case, it is has been (mis)construed as an enclitic with the preceding *aṣa* (= Skt.

atha), however, this goes against the other twenty forms of the pronoun *tad* where *t* is stable (see Morphology § 6.2.2.1 for details). The quotative particle, equivalent to Sanskrit *iti,* is written *ti* four times (8 [2×], 9 [2×]) and *di* once (27), suggesting that in the last example where it closes the discourse of the sutra, it was closely connected with the preceding *dukhaspa*, and so *-t-* became *-d-* —the normal development in intervocalic position. In the first four cases, *ti* functions less tightly with the preceding terms, which are all being emphasized as part of a definition (see Chapter 8 lines 7–9). Thus the dental seems to have been treated as if in initial position.

The developments of original intervocalic *t* are as follows:

-t- > -d- (43 words, 101 occurrences), e.g., *kadara* = Skt. *katarah* (1)

-t- > -t- (5 words, 8 occurrences), e.g., *bhoti* = Skt. *bhavati* (23)

-t- > -ḍ- (1 word, 2 occurrences), *paḍikula* = Skt. *pratikūla/* Pāli *paṭikkūla* (7–8, 9)

-t- > Ø (once), e.g., *añeare* = Skt. *anyatarah* (31)

-t- > -s- (once), *janasa* = Skt. *jānatah* (29)

-t- > -ś- (once), *paśasa* = Skt. *paśyatah* (29)

The developments *-t- > -s-* and *-t- > -ś-* are irregular. Rather than reflecting genuine sound changes, they might be the result of a confusion on the part of the scribe, see text note on *janasa bhikṣave paśasa asavaṇa kṣao vademi,* Chapter 11, line 29).

Original intervocalic *th* becomes *-s-* (8 words, 20 occurrences) or *-s-* (2 words, 4 occurrences). For example, *yasa* (= Skt. *yathā,* 1), *asa* (= Skt. *atha,* 12).

Etymological *-d-* is normally written *-d-* in this manuscript (19 words, 32 occurrences), for example, *padatala* (= Skt. *pādatalāt,* 2). However, there are a few exceptions (3 words, 5 occurrences), e.g., *paridame[di]* (= Skt. *paridāmyati,* 11). These can perhaps all be explained since they occur at a morpheme boundary. It has been elided once, *pariśpeidaṇa* (= Skt. *parisvedāni/*P *pariseditāni,* 41).[2]

The normal development of *-dh-* is *-s-* (3 words, 9 occurrences) or *-s-* (2 words, 2 occurrences). For example, *samasi* = Skt. *samādhih* (1), *asa* = Skt. *adhah* (2). It remains

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[2] According to Richard Salomon (private communication), elision of intervocalic *d* is more likely to occur in words derived from roots of the type √CV*d*.

unchanged just once, *aṇudharma* = Skt. *anudharmaḥ* (23). Again, this stable form occurs at a morpheme boundary.

The development *-dh- > -v-* is seen in *avimucati* (= Skt. *adhimuñcati,* 8 [2×], 9 [2×]) and *aviśa(*yiḏaṇa)* (= Skt. *adhiśayitāni,* 41). This is exceptional but easily explained since in both cases the prefix reflects and underlying *abhi-,* which sometimes alternates with *adhi-* (see text notes on *avimucati* and *aviśa+++*). The development is therefore quite regular, since *-v-* is the normal reflex of intervocalic *bh* (see below § 5.2.1.5).

The dental nasal appears to be stable in medial position in all cases, however, due to the orthography of this scribe it is always written *-ṇ-* (see above § 5.2.1.3, and see Paleography § 4.9.3).

5.2.1.5. Labials

For previous discussions, see Konow 1929: ci; Burrow 1937: § 20; Brough 1962: §§ 34–6, 44; Fussman 1989: § 18.3; Salomon 2000: § 6.2.1.5; Allon 2001: § 5.2.2.5; Lenz 2003: §§ 4.2.1.6, 9.2.1.4.

All cases of initial labials are stable in this manuscript. The only exception to this is initial *ph-* which is written *p-* (*pa[śpru]ṣa* = Skt. *phuphusam,* 3). This scribe does write the letter *ph*, which is graphically very similar to *p,* elsewhere in the collection (see Paleography § 4.4.2.24).

Original intervocalic *p* either becomes *-v-* or is elided. These two developments occur in almost equal proportions:

p > v (6 words, 9 occurrences), e.g., *ajaṇavaḏa* = Skt. *ajanapadam* (10)

p > ∅ (5 words, 13 occurrences), e.g., *[r]uo* = Skt. *rūpam* (16)

The development of original *-bh-* is similar, but unlike *-p-,* it is sometimes stable:

bh > v (3 words, 7 occurrences), e.g., *avimucati* = Skt. *abhimuñcati* (8)

bh > bh (2 words, 11 occurrences), e.g., *abha(*viḏatva)* = Skt. *abhāvitatvāt* (33)

bh > ∅ (1 word, 2 occurrences), *aśua* = Skt. *aśubhā* (1, 5)

The labial nasal *m* is stable in all cases.

5.2.1.6. Semivowels

For previous discussions, see Konow 1929: cv–cvi; Burrow 1937: § 50; Brough 1962: §§ 36–9; Fussman 1989: § 19.2; Salomon 2000: § 6.2.1.6; Allon 2001: § 5.2.2.7; Lenz 2003: §§ 4.2.1.7, 9.2.1.5.

The semivowels *y-, r-, l-,* and *v-* are all stable in initial position. In this manuscript, the stem form of the plural second person pronoun is always *tu-* as in Pāli, and unlike Sanskrit *yu-,* which represents a morphological difference rather than a sound change *y > t* (see Morphology § 6.2.1 and text notes on *tuspahu* Chapter 9 line 16). Original initial *v* has metathesized with *ṛ* in Sanskrit *vṛkṣa* giving rise to the MIA form *rukkha.* Gāndhārī *rukṣa* (1, 5) also reflects this development (see von Hinüber 2001: § 125, Allon 2001: § 6.1.5).

Original medial *y* is frequently elided (12 words, 31 occurrences), for example, *atararaṣaïśama* = Skt. *antardhāyiṣyāmi* (7), but may also remain (9 words, 17 occurrences), for example, *kaya* = Skt. *kāyam* (1).

The other semivowels are stable in intervocalic position:

r > r (42 words, 66 occurrences), e.g., *kaḏara* = Skt. *kataraḥ* (1)

l > l (15 words, 26 occurrences), e.g., *paḏatala* = Skt. *pādatalāt* (2)

v > v (15 words, 44 occurrences), e.g., *eva* = Skt. *eva* (1)

There is one uncertain example of elision of *-v-,* in *[p](*a)[c](*a)[ekṣ](*a)[ḏi]* = Skt. *pratyavekṣati* (2), but the manuscript is damaged at this point. Two other instances of *-v- > ∅* from the Senior manuscripts, *aüṣo* (RS 17.17) = P *āvuso* and *doario* (RS 20.5) = P *dovāriko,* support this interpretation.

There is irregular equivalence between Gāndhārī *chaḏi* and Sanskrit *chaviḥ* (3), and the phonetic development *-v- > -ḏ-* does not seem plausible; see text note on *chaḏi* for details (Chapter 8 line 3).

5.2.1.7. Sibilants and *h*

For previous discussions, see Konow 1929: cviii; Burrow 1937: §§ 21–3, 28, 33; Brough 1962: §§ 39, 50; Salomon 2000: § 6.2.1.7; Allon 2001: § 5.2.2.8; Lenz 2003: §§ 4.2.1.8, 9.2.1.6.

The palatal sibilant *ś* is stable in initial position (3 words, 3 occurrences), for example, *śuña* = Skt. *śūnya* (6). In medial position it is stable in most cases (9 words, 15 occurrences), for example, *aśua* = Skt. *aśubhā* (1). However, there are two exceptions, *[a]suyiṇ[a]* (2) and *aṣuyi* (9), both cognate with Sanskrit *aśuci-*. The two forms, *s* and *ṣ,* are alternate spellings of the dental sibilant (see below, and Paleography § 4.4.2.35). The change *ś > s* in this word is also seen in the Khotan Dharmapada where Sanskrit *śuci-,* appears as *śuyi* once (Dhp-G[K] 222), but more often is written *suyi* (Dhp-G[K] 112, 255, 303, 322, 327). This shows that the sibilant of OIA *śuci* was a special case, and does not reflect the normal pattern of sibilant stability in Gāndhārī (see also Brough 1962: § 50).

The retroflex sibilant, *ṣ,* does not occur in initial position. Word internally, original *ṣ* is stable (4 words, 6 occurrences), for example, *puriṣa* (= Skt. *purīṣam,* 4). There is one exception, which shows the development *ṣ > ṣ* (1 occurrence), *k[u]ma[ṣa]* (= Skt. *kulmāṣaḥ,* 8). The latter may reflect the form in the source dialect, which is assumed to be a kind of Middle Indo-Aryan where the development *ṣ > s* was normal; or it might be attributed to the general phenomenon of variation in the spelling of body parts. In either case, there is a secondary development in which *-s-* becomes *-ṣ-,* but this simply orthographic (see text note on *oḍaṇak[u]ma[ṣa],* Chapter 8 line 8, Orthography § 4.9.4).

In the majority of cases original *s* is stable (17 words, 41 occurrences), for example, *sahagaḍa* = Skt. *sahagata* (1). It is commonly written *ṣ* (11 words, 21 occurrences), as in, *ṣaña* = Skt. *saṃjñā* (1). The exceptional development *s > ś* occurs once in *śigaṇa* for *siṅghāṇakaḥ,* but here again this seems to be part of a general pattern of variation in the spelling of body parts (4, see text note). Etymological *s* is always written *ṣ* medially (3 words, 3 occurrences), for example, *vaḍeṣi* (= Skt. *vadasi,* 32; see Orthography § 4.9.4).

In word initial position original *h* is usually stable (3 words, 7 occurrences), for example, *hiḍae* (= Skt. *hitaye,* 16). It is elided twice in *eḍ[u]* for Sanskrit *hetu* (19, 37), which may be related to a pattern of prefixing *h* to words beginning with original *i* or *ṛ* (see above § 5.1.1). In medial position, *h* is also stable in most cases (13 words, 28 occurrences), for example, *sahagaḍa* (= Skt. *sahagata*, 1), but it has been elided in two words, *priao* (= Skt. *plīhakaḥ,* 3) and *pajaaṣa* etc. (= Skt. *prajahatha,* 16 [2×], 17, 20). Sanskrit *iha* is written *iśe,* with *h > ś,*

four times in this manuscript (1, 5, 10, 32). This form is normal for this term in Gāndhārī (see text notes on *iśe bhikhu rukṣa++++,* Chapter 8, line 1). Medial *h* has become *s̱* twice, *samepas̱aṇaṇa* (= Skt. *samyakprahāṇānām,* 34, 38). According to Mark Allon, this is likely to be due to the influence of the term Skt. *pradhāna-*/P *padhāna-* which commonly occurs with it in the compound P *pahāna-padhāna* (= G *prasaṇa-prasaṇo,* see Allon 2001: § 5.2.2.8, pp. 256–60, and text notes on *samepas̱aṇaṇa,* Chapter 11, line 34).

5.2.2. Consonant Clusters

The following chart summarizes the reflexes of OIA consonant clusters in both initial and medial positions. Where two or more reflexes of the same cluster are attested, they are given in order of frequency. Geminate clusters are very rarely indicated in Kharoṣṭhī, normally, and in this manuscript, a geminate is written as a single consonant. In the following table the unwritten member of the cluster appears in parentheses.

Table 18. Reflexes of OIA clusters in Senior fragment 5

Original OIA Cluster	Reflex(es) in RS 5	
	Initial	Medial
ḥkh	—	*(k)kh*
kk	—	*k(k)*
kt	—	*t(t)*
kpr	—	*p(p)*
kl	*kr*	—
kṣ	*kṣ*	*kṣ, (k)kh*
gr	*g*	*gr*
ṅg	—	*g̱, g*
ṅgh	—	*g*
cch	—	*(c)ch*
cy	*j*	*c(c), j(j)*
jñ	—	*ñ(ñ)*
ñc	—	*c*
ṇṭh	—	*ṭ*
ṇḍ	—	*ḍ*
tk	—	*k(k)*
tt	—	*t(t), ḏ*
tp	—	*p(p)*
tm	—	*tv*

Table 18. Continued

ṭy	—	*c(c)*
ṭr	—	*tr*
ṭv	*tv*	*t(t), tv*
dg	—	*g(g)*
ddh	—	*(d)dh, rdh*
dy	—	*j(j)*
dv	*b*	—
dhy	*j*	*j(j)*
nṭ	—	*ṭ*
nṭr	—	*ṭr*
ndr	—	*dr*
ny	—	*ñ*
pṭ	—	*ṭ(ṭ)*
pph	—	*śpr*
pr	*p, pr*	*p(p)*
pl	*pr*	*m(m)*
bhy	—	*(b)bh*
my	—	*m(m)*
yy	—	*y(y)*
rg	—	*g(g)*
rṇ	—	*ṇ(ṇ)*
rdhv	—	*(d)dv*
rm	—	*rm, m(m)*
ry	—	*y(y)*
rv	—	*rv, vr*
rṣ	—	*s(s)*
lm	—	*m(m)*
śy	—	*ś(ś)*
śr	*ś, ṣ*	*ś(ś)*
ṣk	—	*(k)kh*
ṣṭ	—	*(ṭ)ṭh*
ṣṭv	—	*sp*
ṣṭh	—	*(ṭ)ṭh*
ṣm	—	*sp*
ṣy	—	*(ś)ś*
sk	—	*(k)kh*
st	—	*st*
sty	—	*st*
sth	*ṭ*	*ṭ(ṭ), ṭh*
sm	*sp*	*sp*

<center>Table 18. Continued</center>

sy	*s̱*	*s̱, s(s)*
sr	—	*s(s), s̱*
sv	—	*śp*
hy	—	*z*

5.2.2.1. Visarga

The cluster *ḥkh* in Sanskrit *duḥkha* leads to the geminate *kkh* in Pāli *dukkha*. The same form must underlie Gāndhārī *dukhaspa* (= *du(k)khaspa,* 27) as otherwise, intervocalic *-kh-* would have become *h* or *g* (see above § 5.2.1.1).

5.2.2.2. Nasal + Stop or Semivowel

For previous discussions, see Konow 1929: civ–cv; Burrow 1937: § 45–7; Brough 1962: §§ 7–8, 10a, 46–7; Salomon 1999: § 6.4.3, 2000: § 6.2.2; Allon 2001: § 5.2.3.1.

This scribe does not write anusvara. Consequently all clusters of nasal plus stop are written as the stop only, which almost invariably remains unchanged. The following list gives an example for each of the clusters of this type attested in the manuscript.

aṃ > a (6 words, 20 occurrences), e.g., *s̱aña* = Skt. *saṃjñā* (1)

ṅg > g (3 words, 3 occurrences), e.g., *astaga(*mo)* = Skt. *astaṃgamaḥ* (31)

ṅg > g (2 words, 3 occurrences), e.g., *bejagaṇa* = Skt. *bodhyaṅgānām* (34)

ṅgh > g (once), *śigaṇa* = Skt. *siṅghāṇakaḥ* (4)

ñc > c (6 words, 15 occurrences), e.g., *avimucati* = Skt. *abhimuñcati* (8)

ṇṭh > ṭ (1 word, 3 occurrences), *ukaṭaḏi* = Skt. *utkaṇṭhati* (11, 12, 14)

ṇḍ > ḍ (once), *aḍagaṇ[i]* = Skt. *aṇḍakāni* (41)

nt > t (5 words, 5 occurrences), e.g., *payata* = Skt. *paryantam* (2)

ntr > tr (2 words, 2 occurrences), e.g., *atra* = Skt. *antram* (3)

nd > d (once), *chidaḏi* = Skt. *chinatti*/Pāli *chindati* (19)

ndr > dr (1 word, 2 occurrences), e.g., *hidriaṇa* = Skt. *indriyānām* (34)

There are two exceptions to the stability of these stops, both of which occur with the voiced velar stops. Both *g* and *g̱* are attested as the development of *ṅg*: *ṅg > g̱*, *mastal[ug̱](*a)* (= Skt. *mastakaluṅgam,* 4); *astaga(*mo)* (= Skt. *astaṃgamaḥ,* 31), *aṭhagias̱a* (= Skt. *aṣṭāṅgikasya,*

39); and *ṅg > g, bejagaṇa* (= Skt. *bodhyaṅgānām,* 34, 39), *aṭhagiasa* (= Skt. *aṣṭāṅgikasya,* 35). These forms, and the developments of intervocalic *g* (§ 5.2.1.1) suggest that the pair *g* and *g* were minimally distinguished. The second exception is the cluster *ṅgh* which occurs as *g* in this text, *śigaṇa* (= Skt. *siṅghāṇakaḥ,* 4), and shows unexpected deaspiration, which could be phonetic or merely orthographic (see Paleography § 4.5.2.7, see also text note on *śigaṇa* Chapter 8, line 4). A third possible exception is seen in the development *ṇṭh > ṭ,* where the reflex is deaspirated. However, this rather seems to show stability of *ṭ(h)* which should become voiced if it were intervocalic (see above § 5.2.1.3). The deaspiration is probably connected with a tendency to confuse the aspirates (see Orthography § 4.9.5).

One outcome of nasal plus the semivowel *y* is found in this text, *ny > ñ.* This occurs three times in *śuña* (= Skt. *śūnya,* 6), *mañaṣa* (= Skt. *manyatha,* 18), *añeare* (= Skt. *anyataraḥ,* 31).

5.2.2.3. Stop + Nasal

For previous discussions, see Konow 1929: cv; Burrow 1937: § 44; Bailey 1946: 768–9; Brough 1962: §§ 10, 14; Allon 2001: § 5.2.3.2; Lenz 2003: § 9.2.2.1.

There are two clusters of the type original stop + nasal: *jñ > ñ* (= *ññ,* 6 words, 22 occurrences), for example, *ṣaña* (= Skt. *saṃjñā,* 1); and *tm > tv* (2 occurrences), *atva* (= Skt. *ātmā,* 19) and *atvaṇi[a.]* (= Skt. *ātmanyam,* 19).

5.2.2.4. Stop + Stop Clusters

For previous discussions, see Burrow 1937: § 35; Brough 1962: § 51; Salomon 2000: § 6.2.2.1; Allon 2001: § 5.2.3.3.

As in other MIA dialects, clusters of the type stop + stop, undergo assimilation. Since geminates are not normally indicated in Kharoṣṭhī, these appear as single consonants. The following list gives an example for each cluster of this type in the present text resulting in a geminate.

kk > k (=*kk,* 2 words, 2 occurrences), e.g., *kuku[ḍ](*ia)* = Skt. *kukkuṭyāḥ* (40)

kt > t (=*tt,* once), *aṇuyu[t]aṣa* = Skt. *ananuyuktasya* (35)

cch > ch (=*cch,* once), *iche* = Skt. *icchā* (36)

tk > k (=*kk,* 1 word, 3 occurrences), *ukaṭaḍi* = Skt. *utkaṇṭhati* (11, 12, 14)

tt > t (=*tt,* 2 words, 10 occurrences), e.g., *jitasa* = Skt. *cittasya* (4)

tt > d (once), *chidadi* = Skt. *chinatti* (19)

tp > p (=*pp,* 2 words, 2 occurrences), e.g., *[u]pajea* = Skt. *utpadyet* (36)

dg > g (=*gg,* 1 word, 4 occurrences), *[pu]galasa* = Skt. *pudgalasya* (4, 7, 9, 14)

ddh > dh (=*ddh,* 3 words, 4 occurrences), e.g., *sadhasa* = Skt. *śraddhasya* (23)

pt > t (=*tt,* once), *satana* = Skt. *saptānām* (34)

In the case of *hirdhaüpaḍana* (= Skt. *ṛddhipādānām,* 34, 38), the cluster *rdh* is the result of the development of the underlying initial *ṛ* (see above § 5.1.2.8), so that the cluster might be understood as *rddh*.

The only exception to the principle of assimilation among the clusters of this type is seen in *pa[śpru]ṣa* (3) which is formally equivalent to Sanskrit *phupphusam*. However, it is unlikely that the underlying form is really a stop + stop cluster. Rather, the Sanskrit form itself seems to be just such an assimilation of an more complex cluster; see the text note on *pa[śpru]ṣa*.

5.2.2.5. Consonant + Semivowel Clusters

For previous discussions, see Salomon 2000: § 6.2.2.2; Allon 2001: § 5.2.3.4; Lenz 2003: §§ 4.2.2.1, 9.2.2.2.

For sibilant + semivowel clusters, see § 5.2.3.7; for *h* + semivowel clusters, see § 5.2.3.8.

Clusters with *y* as a second member in this manuscript mostly follow the normal pattern for Gāndhārī and MIA in general. That is, *y* is assimilated to the preceding consonant, if the consonant is a dental, it is palatalized.

cy > c (=*cc,* 1 word, 3 occurrences), *vucadi* = Skt. *ucyate* (5, 9, 14)

ty > c (=*cc,* 2 words, 2 occurrences), e.g., *yasapacea* = Skt. *yathāpratyaya* (19)

dy > j (=*jj,* once), *[u]pajea* = Skt. *utpadyeta* (36)

dhy > j (=*jj),* initial position (once) *jaṇaṇa* = Skt. *dhyānānām* (39); internal position (once), *bejagaṇa* = Skt. *bodhyaṅgānām* (34)

bhy > bh (=*bbh,* 1 word, 2 occurrences), *abhoaśa* = Skt. *abhyavakāśa* (1, 6)

my > m (=*mm,* 4 words, 9 occurrences), e.g., *paridame[di]* = Skt. *paridāmyati* (11)

yy > y (=*yy,* 1 word, 2 occurrences), *s̱ayas̱avi* = BHS *sayyathāpi* (17, 40)

sty > st (once), *śavasti* = Skt. *śrāvastyām* (28)

There are two possible exceptions. On two occasions there is apparently secondary voicing following the normal development *cy > c*, both word initially, *javiśami* (= Skt. *cyoṣye,* 6); and internally, *vujaḏi* (8, cf. *vucaḏi* above). However, since this scribe frequently confused *c* and *j,* this may rather be orthographic (see § 5.2.1.2). In the case of *spaḏoṭhaṇaṇa* (33–4), the expected Sanskrit cognate is *smṛtyupasthānānām,* which implies the development *ty > ḏ*. There are two problems with this, first, the cluster has not become palatalized, and second, even if it isn't palatalized the resultant form should be a geminate *t(t),* which should be stable. A related term occurs elsewhere in the collection, *spaḏiṭhaṇieṇa* (= Skt. *smṛtyupasthānika;* RS 8.6). Here the vowel is *i,* which seems to reflect the regular development *-ḏ-* for *-t-,* in which case the underlying form would have, lacked *-upa-, *smṛtisthānika*, (see text note on *spaḏoṭhaṇaṇa,* Chapter 11, lines 33–4, also above §§ 5.1.2.6, 5.1.4).

In clusters with *r* as the latter member of an initial cluster *r* is assimilated slightly more often than it is retained, but internally it is more likely to be retained. These differences may be due to the influence of the source dialect (see Salomon 2000: 89).

Initial position:

gr > g (once), *gama* = Skt. *grāmam* (10)

pr > p (3 words, 8 occurrences), e.g., *paḍikula* = Skt. *pratikūla* (7)

pr > pr (3 words, 6 occurrences), e.g., *praṇihiḏa* = Skt. *praṇihitam* (2)

Internal position:

pr > p (=*pp,* 2 words, 3 occurrences), e.g., *yas̱apacea* = Skt. *yathāpratyaya* (19)

gr > gr (1 word, 3 occurrences), *ekagraḏa* = Skt. *ekāgratā* (5, 7, 14)

tr > tr (2 words, 2 occurrences), e.g., *patra* = Skt. *patra* (18)

There are two cases of clusters with original *l* as the latter member. Both times, the *l* has been written with *r* in Gāndhārī, however, the etymology of both of these terms is complex (see text notes on both these terms, Chapter 8, line 3).

kl > kr (once), *[kr]umao* = Skt. *klomakam* (3)

pl > pr (once), *priao* = Skt. *plīhakaḥ* (3)

Clusters consisting of a stop + *v* are stable in most cases, but there are also cases of assimilation:

> *tv* > *tv* (3 word, 8 occurrences), e.g., *abhaviḏatva* = Skt. *abhāvitatvāt* (33), and in initial position, *tvaya* = Skt. *tvaca* (2).
>
> *tv* > *t* (=*tt*, 3 words, 6 occurrences), e.g., *damita* = Skt. *dāṃtvā* (11)
>
> *rdhv* > *dv* (=*ddv,* 1 word, 2 occurrences), *udva* = Skt. *ūrdhvam* (2, 14)

The numeral 'twelve' is a special case, here the underlying *dv-* has become *b-, [baḏa]śa* = Skt. *dvādaśa* (40), which is common with this numeral in Gāndhārī (cf. *badaya,* Shāhbāzgaṛhī rock edicts 3 and 4, CKI 3.5, 4.10).

5.2.2.6. Semivowel + Consonant Clusters

For previous discussions, see Salomon 2000: § 6.2.2.3; Allon 2001: § 5.2.3.5; Lenz 2003: §§ 4.2.2.2, 9.2.2.3.

For semivowel + sibilant clusters, see § 5.2.3.7.

The following list gives examples for each of the developments of this type recorded in the manuscript.

> *rg* > *g* (=*gg,* 1 word, 2 occurrences), *magaṣa* = Skt. *mārgasya* (35)
>
> *rṇ* > *ṇ* (= *ṇṇ,* 1 word, 6 occurrences), *caḏoṇa* = Skt. *caturṇām* (33)
>
> *rdhv* > *dv* (= *ddv,* 1 word, 2 occurrences), *udva* = Skt. *ūrdhvam* (2)
>
> *rm* > *m* (= *mm,* 1 word, 3 occurrences), *kamaṇio* = Skt. *karmanǐyam* (11)
>
> *rm* > *rm* (2 words, 6 occurrences), *aṇudharma* = Skt. *anudharmaḥ* (23)
>
> *ry* > *y* (= *yy,* once), *payata* = Skt. *paryantam* (2)
>
> *rv* > *rv* (2 words, 4 occurrences), *sarva* = Skt. *sarva* (10)
>
> *rv* > *vr* (1 word, 3 occurrences), *ṇivriḏa* = Skt. *nirvidā* (23)
>
> *rṣ* > *s* (= *ṣṣ,* once), *parikasaḏi* = Skt. *parikarṣati* (11)

There are two exceptions. *[pra]vaḏa* (12) stands for Sanskrit *parvatam,* but here the preconsonantal *r* seems to have metathesized and formed a cluster with the initial, so that we cannot assume a geminate for *v* (see below § 5.3). The form *parikaṣaḏi* (13) may reflect the MIA source (cf. Pāli *parikassati*) rather than the Sanskrit *parikarṣati,* leading to the unusual

development *rṣ > ṣ* (= *ṣṣ*), or it might be an example of irregular sibilant behavior in Gāndhārī.

There is one example of a cluster based on original *l* + consonant. The development is *lm > m*, where the *m* doubtless represents a geminate, *k[u]ma[ṣa]* (= Skt. *kulmāṣaḥ,* 8).

5.2.2.7. Clusters with Sibilants

For previous discussions, see Konow 1929: cix–cxi; Burrow 1937: §§ 38, 41, 48–9; Brough 1962: §§ 52–60; Salomon 2000: §§ 6.2.2.2–4; Allon 2001: § 5.2.3.6; Lenz 2003: §§ 4.2.2.3, 9.2.2.4.

The sibilant clusters *kṣ* and *st* are usually preserved regardless of position. For example: *kṣ > kṣ,* initial position (1 word, 4 occurrences), *kṣao* = Skt. *kṣayam* (29); internal position (3 words, 8 occurrences), e.g., *rukṣa* = Skt. *vṛkṣa* (1); *st > st* (4 words, 5 occurrences), e.g., *masta* = Skt. *mastakaḥ* (4); *sty > st* (once), *śavasti* = Skt. *śrāvastyām* (28).

The only exceptions are the forms of the stem *bhikhu-,* which reflect the normal MIA development, *kṣ > kh* (= *kkh*), for example, *bhikhu* = Skt. *bhikṣuḥ* (1). This is doubtless due to the influence of the source MIA dialect, which would have had a form comparable to Pāli *bhikkhu-*. However, the vocative plural always preserves *kṣ, bhikṣave* (= Skt. *bhikṣavaḥ/*P *bhikkhave*; ll. 16, 23, 29). The same distribution is seen in other Gāndhārī manuscripts, but the reasons for this are unclear (see Brough 1962: § 52 and Allon 2001: 95).

Clusters of the type sibilant + *m* or sibilant + *v* become *sp* or *śp* regardless of position. This is true even for the tripartite cluster *ṣṭv* which invariably becomes *sp* in this manuscript.

> *ṣṭv > sp* (1 word, 7 occurrences), *drispa* = Skt. *dṛṣṭvā* (10 [2×], 12 [5×])
>
> *ṣm > sp* (1 word, 7 occurrences), *tuspahu* = Skt. *yuṣmākam,* P *tumhākaṃ* (16 [2×], 17, 18, 20 [2×], 21)
>
> *sm > sp,* initial position (once), *spaḏoṭhaṇaṇa* = Skt. *smṛtyupasthānānām* (33); internal position (3 words, 3 occurrences), e.g., *himaspi* = Skt. *(*i)masmim* (17)
>
> *sv > śp,* initial position (once), *śpeḏa* = Skt. *svedaḥ* (4); internal position (once), *pariśpeiḏaṇa* = Skt. *parisvedāni* (41)

All other clusters involving sibilants show assimilation. The following list gives examples for each of these developments attested in the manuscript.

śy > ś (= *śś,* 3 words, 6 occurrences), e.g., *paśaḍi* = Skt. *paśyati* (10)

śr > ś, initial position (2 words, 3 occurrences), e.g., *śava[st]i* = Skt. *śrāvastī* (15), internal position (= *śś,* once), *aśu* = Skt. *aśru* (4)

śr > ṣ, initial position (2 words, 2 occurrences), e.g., *ṣadhasa* = Skt. *śraddhasya* (23)

ṣk > kh (= *kkh,* once), *pukharaṇa* = Skt. *puṣkaraṇīm* (12)

ṣṭ > ṭh (= *ṭṭh,* 1 word, 2 occurrences), *aṭhagiaṣa* = Skt. *aṣṭāṅgikasya* (35, 39)

ṣṭh > ṭh (= *ṭṭh,* once), *ka[ṭha]* = Skt. *kāṣṭha* (18)

sy > ś (= *śś,* 5 words, 10 occurrences), e.g., *[m](*a)riśami* = Skt. *mariṣyāmi* (6)

sk > kh (= *kkh,* 4 words, 6 occurrences), e.g., *sakhara* = Skt. *saṃskārāḥ* (17)

sth > ṭ, initial position (once), *ṭiḍa* = Skt. *sthitam* (1), internal position (= *ṭṭ,* once), *aṭi* = Skt. *asthi* (3)

sth > ṭh (= *ṭṭh,* once), *spaḍoṭhaṇaṇa* = Skt. *smṛtyupasthānānām* (33)

sy > s (= *ss,* 6 words, 7 occurrences), e.g., *ṣadhasa* = Skt. *śraddhasya* (23)

sy > ṣ, initial position (once), *ṣa* = Skt. *syāt* (40), internal position (= *ṣṣ,* 10 words, 21 occurrences), e.g., *[pu]galaṣa* = Skt. *pudgalasya* (4)

sr > s (= *ss,* 2 words, 4 occurrences), e.g., *asavaṇa* = Skt. *āsravānām* (29)

sr > ṣ (= *ṣṣ,* 2 words, 3 occurrences), e.g., *[a]ṣavaṇa* = Skt. *āsravānām* (32)

The development *sth > ṭ,* shows deaspiration which is a common feature of this scribe's work (Orthography § 4.9.5). The development *sth > ṭh* would be the normal MIA development of this cluster.

5.2.2.8. Clusters with *h*

For previous discussion, see Allon 2001: § 5.2.3.7.

There is one example of a cluster of the type *h* + consonant, *guza* (3) which mostly likely represents Sanskrit *guhyam* (on the interpretation of this form see text note, Chapter 8 line 3). Since this development assumes secondary voicing, *z* might not be a geminate.

5.3. Metathesis

For previous discussions, see Brough 1962: § 64; Salomon 2000: § 6.3; Allon 2001: § 5.3; Lenz 2003: § 4.3, 9.3.

The following examples of the so-called Dardic metathesis—a common feature in Gandhari, in which *r* shifts to a preceding or following syllable—occur in this manuscript.

ṇivriḏa = Skt. *nirvidā* (23, 24 [2×], 25)

[pra]vaḏa = Skt. *parvatam* (12)

This may also apply in *rmaḏo* = Skt. *mṛdu* (11, 13 [2×]), but see above § 5.1.3.

5.4. Sandhi Phenomena

For previous discussion, see Allon 2001: § 5.6.

Identifying sandhi in Gāndhārī texts is complicated by the economies of the Kharoṣṭhī script and certain developments of the Gāndhārī language. Kharoṣṭhī does not indicate vowel length, write geminates, or mark elisions. Due to the weakening of final vowels in Gāndhārī (Fussman 1989: 460), word endings are often eroded. Furthermore, scribes did not indicate word breaks except in a few cases. As a result, it is difficult to determine the real features of sandhi in Gāndhārī.

5.4.1. Vowel Hiatus

For previous discussion, see Allon 2001: § 5.6.1.

Vowel hiatus is tolerated and frequent in Gāndhārī. In this manuscript there are only a few cases of vowel sandhi (§ 5.5.2) and sandhi consonants being inserted to bridge hiatus (§ 5.5.4), for example: *kaḏara aśua* (1), *~samaṣi iśe* (10), *tuspahu eḏam* (18), *bhate atva* (19), *o añeare* (31).

In contrast to the practice in the EĀ-G (see Allon 2001: § 5.6.1), the treatment of the particle *iti* follows Pāli in most cases, as in *dukhaspa ḏi* (27) equivalent to Pāli *dukkhasmā ti*. The disyllabic form is preserved once, *iḏi* (14), but this also matches Pāli, which reads *iti* since in this case the particle is introducing a phrase (see text note on *sarvatratavi,* Chapter 8, line 14).

5.4.2. Vowel Sandhi

For previous discussion, see Allon 2001: § 5.6.2.

Only a few examples of vowel sandhi are recorded in this manuscript. A more complete picture is provided by Allon (2001: § 5.6.2).

1. Examples not involving compounds:

-ă + ă- > -ā- (the long vowel is assumed on historical grounds): *s̱aya̱savi* = BHS *sayyathāpi*/P *seyyathāpi* (< *-yathā + api,* 17, 40); *a̱karaspan̠ag(*aria)* = P *ăgārāsmānăgāriyaṃ* (< *-smā + ană-,* 23).

maṇa (40) is the equivalent of Sanskrit *imāni,* but the initial has been omitted or elided. As seen above (§ 5.5.1), the hiatus *-a i-* is normally tolerated. The difference in this case may be due to fact that the preceding *a* is likely to be long (on historical grounds), being the final of a feminine instrumental singular, *kukuḍia* (= Skt. *kukkuṭyā*/P *kukkuṭiyā*). No other instances of an underlying hiatus *-ā i-* are found in this text.

s̱a (40) probably represents Gāndhārī **as̱a,* with loss of an initial *a* due to sandhi with the preceding *taṇi,* (cf. Pāli *tānassu,* see Morphology § 6.3.2).

2. Examples of coalescence at compound junctures:

-ă + ă- > -ā-: śuñagara = Skt. *śūnyāgāra*/P *suññāgāra* (< *śūnya + ăgāra,* 3, 6).

5.4.3. Original Final *m* Remaining Before Vowels

For previous discussions, see Brough 1962: § 71; Allon 2001: § 5.6.3.

Examples are *imam eva* (1); *e̱dam as̱a* (= P *etad assa,* 18); *evam eva* (19); *i̱dam eyi, hi̱dam eyi* (= P *idam avoca,* 21, 27).

5.4.4. Organic Sandhi Consonants

For previous discussion, see Allon 2001: § 5.6.4.

An example of *d* is final *d̠* in *e̱dad̠ oya* (32) equivalent to Pāli *etad avoca* (see text note on *i̱dam eyi,* Chapter 9, line 21).

According to Allon, the initial *v* of *vuca̱di/vuja̱di* = Skt. *ucyate* (5, 8, 9, 14) may either "represent a fossilized sandhi form" or is "derived from the guṇa grade of the root" (2001: 101).

Morphology

Previous studies of individual Gāndhārī texts have shown that in principle the manuscripts share a common morphological system. However, there are considerable differences in the details. The following discussion describes the grammar of the present manuscript in full, but is necessarily only preliminary, pending a complete study of the morphology of this scribe's entire corpus.

6.1. Nominal Forms

6.1.1. Stems in -*a,* Masculine, Neuter, and Feminine

As with the previous studies of Gāndhārī morphology (see GBT 1–3), gender assignments for words are based on Sanskrit and Pāli equivalents in the absence of a consistent distinction in the nominative and accusative endings which normally indicate gender.

The following chart summarizes the endings of the nouns and adjective stems of all genders in -*a* (and -*ā*). It will be obvious from what follows, that as least as far at the morphology of the present text is concerned, the gender system of the -*ā* stems is greatly eroded with only a few cases showing a possible gender distinction. Where multiple endings are given, they indicate the order of frequency beginning with the most common. Details can be found in the discussion that follows.

Table 19. Stems in -*a,* masculine, neuter and feminine

	Singular			Plural		
	Masculine	Neuter	Feminine	Masculine	Neuter	Feminine
Nominative	*-a, -e, -o*	*-a, -o, -e, -i*	*-a, -e, -o*	*-a, -e*	*-a, -aṇa, -aṇ[i]*	*-ae*
Accusative	*-a, -o, -e*	*-a, -e, -o*	*-a*	*-a*	—	—
Instrumental	*-iṇa*		*-a*	*-ehi, -e*		—
Dative	*-ae*		—	—		—
Ablative	*-a, -spa, -ṣa* ?		*-a* ?	*-ehi, -e*		—
Genitive	*-ṣa/-sa*		—	*-aṇa*		—
Locative	*-e, -a, -o*		*-e*	*-[e]* ?		—
Vocative	—		—	—		—

6.1.1.1. Nominative and Accusative Singular

6.1.1.1.1. Nominative Singular Masculine

The endings encountered for the nominative singular masculine are *-a, -e,* and *-o:*

-a (nine words, thirteen occurrences): *aṇudharma* (23), *ahara* (8), *[k](*e)śa* (2–3), *khaḍa* (8), *gaḏa* (1, 6 [3×]), *pu[ya]* (4), *masta* (4), *śpeḏa* (4), *samuḏaa* (30).

-e (five words, six occurrences): *añeare* (31), *khaḍe* (4), *jaṇe* (18), *bah[u]le* (24), *samuḏae* (31).

-o (two words, two occurrences): *priao* (3), *bahulo* (23).

6.1.1.1.2. Nominative Singular Neuter

The terminations are *-a, -o, -e,* and *-i:*

-a (fifteen words, twenty-one occurrences): *atraguṇa* (3), *atra* (3), *avikṣeva* (9, 14), *guza* (3), *jita* (7, 33), *tvaya* (3), *pa[śpru]ḏa* (3), *pahiṇa* (20 [2×]), *puḍua* (9), *puriṣa* (4, 8), *prahiṇa* (16 [2×]), *mala* (9), *raya* (3), *vata* (8), *viñaṇa* (17, 21).

-o (three words, six occurrences): *[kr]umao* (3), *ruo* (16, 20, 30), *viñaṇo* (30, 33).

-e (two words, two occurrences): *jite* (36), *ṇiḏaṇe* (15).

-i (contracted from *-iya*): *uḏari* (3; see § 6.1.3.2. Stems in Nonoriginal *-i*)

6.1.1.1.3. Nominative Singular Feminine

The terminations are *-a, -e,* and *-o:*

-a (four words, seven occurrences): *ekagraḏa* (5, 7, 14), *veḏaṇa* (21), *śigaṇa* (4), *saña* (17, 21)

-e (three words, three occurrences): *iche* (36), *veḏaṇe* (17), *sañe* (30).

-o (one occurrence): *[v](*eḏa)[ṇ]o* (30).

The endings in *e* may either reflect a collapse in the gender system, with the endings for the masculine and neuter extending into the feminine, or they simply show alternation of *ā* and *e*. On the ending in *o,* see comments on the alternation of *e* and *o* (Phonology § 5.1.2.7).

6.1.1.1.4. Accusative Singular Masculine

The terminations are *-a, -e,* and *-o:*

-*a* (seven words, nine occurrences): *ajaṇavaḏa* (10), *kaya* (1), *kṣaya* (29, 31, 32), *gama* (10), *[ja]ṇavaḏa* (10), *payata* (2), *bhavaṇaṇuyoḵa* (35).

-*e* (three words, three occurrences): *kale* (42), *ṭiḏ[e]* (1), *praṇihiḏ[e]* (2).

-*o* (two words, two occurrences): *kalo* (41), *kṣao* (29).

6.1.1.1.5. Accusative Singular Neuter

The terminations are -*a, -e,* and -*o:*

-*a* (six words, ten occurrences): *aṇagara* (10), *(*ṇa)[g](*a)ra* (10), *palaśa* (18), *ramaṇea* (12 [5×]), *rua* (25), *viñaṇa* (26).

-*o* (three words, five occurrences): *kamaṇio* (11 [2×], 13), *cito* (11), *ruo* (24).

-*e* (one word, one occurrence): *cite* (13).

6.1.1.1.6. Accusative Singular Feminine

There is just one example of a feminine noun in the accusative singular. The ending is -*a:* *veḏa[ṇa]* (25).

6.1.1.1.7. Ablative Singular Feminine

There are two possible examples of a feminine noun in the ablative singular. The ending is -*a: veḏaṇa* (26), *saña* (26).

6.1.1.1.8. Nominative and Accusative Plural

The ending of the nominative plural masculine is -*a: sakhara* (17, 21), *ṇaga* (3; the latter word can be m. or n. in Sanskrit, MW s.v.; I have taken it as m. here since the Pāli parallel is m., *nakhā*). *Ṣakhare* (30) should also be nominative plural, but the form of the pronoun agreeing with it, *aya* (see below § 6.2.2.2), seems to be singular.

The nominative plural neuter occurs four times with four different words. The endings are -*a, -aṇa* [2×]*,* and -*aṇ[i]: jala* (3), *pariśpeiḏaṇa* (41), *paribhaviḏaṇa* (42), *aḏagaṇ[i]* (41). It is perhaps likely that the endings in -*aṇa* should be read -*aṇi,* assuming non-writing of the *i*-vowel diacritic (see Paleography § 4.6.1).

There is one possible example of a feminine nominative plural, *(*la)[s](*i)[ḵ]ae* (4); however, this reading is problematic (see text notes on +*[s.]ḵae,* Chapter 8, line 4).

The accusative plural masculine is found once; the ending is *-a: sakhara* (26).

6.1.1.2. Oblique Cases

Instrumental Singular: There are two words occurring in the instrumental singular, one masculine, one feminine. The endings are *-iṇa, -a: kaliṇa* (m., 41, 42), *ṣadha* (f., 23). The unusual ending *-iṇa* is also found in the Mahāvastu (see BHSD § 8.40; see also Phonology § 5.1.2.3).

Dative Singular: The ending is *-ae,* attested in two words, both neuter: *hiḏae* (16 [2×], 17, 20 [2×]), *suhae* (16 [2×], 17, 20 [2×])

Ablative Singular: The endings are *-a, -ṣa,* and *-spa: abhaviḏatva* (n., 33 [2×], 35, 37 [2×], 39), *paḏatala* (n., 2), *[u]ayaṣa* (m., 27), *viñaṇaṣa* (n., 26) *aḵaraspa* (n., 23), *dukhaspa* (n., 27). It is possible that two endings in *-ṣa* are both genitive functioning as ablative, rather than representing a true ablative inflection (see text notes on *[u]ayaṣa* and *viñaṇaṣa,* Chapter 10, lines 27 and 26 respectively).

Genitive Singular: The ending is *-ṣa/-sa: aṭhagiaṣa* (m., 35, 39), *aṇuyu[t]aṣa* (m., 35), *ariasa* (m., 35, 39), *kul[a]putraṣa* (m., 23), *citaṣa* (n., 14), *jitaṣa* (n., 4, 7), *pugalaṣa* (m., 4, 7, 14), *bhuḏaṣa* (m., 7, 9, 14), *magaṣa* (m., 35, 39), *ruasa* (n., 30), *viñaṇasa* (n., 31), *ṣadhasa* (m., 23).

Locative Singular: The endings are *-e, -a, -o: jeḏavaṇe* (n., 17), *loge* (m., 14[M]), *vi[ña]ṇe* (n., 24), *[veḏ](*a)[ṇe]* (f., 25), *[sañe]* (f., 25), *ruo* (n., 23, 24), *loga* (m., 10). If the reading *[k](*a)[yi]* (2) is correct, there would also be a locative ending in *-i.* However, due to the considerable difficulties in reading this portion of the text, this ending cannot be proposed with any measure of confidence. The locative endings in *o* may be the result of the alternation of *e* and *o* which is well attested in the work of this scribe (see Phonology § 5.1.2.7).

Instrumental/Ablative Plural: The endings are *-e, -ehi: sakhare* (m., 26), *asave* (m., 37), *aṣavehi* (33, 36). Since these endings may stand for either ablative or instrumental plural and the context of separation favors the ablative, but could equally be represented by the

instrumental, it is not possible to determine absolutely which category these forms belong to (see text notes on *ṇa aṇuaḏehi aṣavehi jita vimucaḏi,* Chapter 11 line 33).

Genitive Plural: The ending is *-aṇa: asavaṇa* (m., 29 [2×], 31, 32), *kuśalaṇa* (m., 33, 35, 37, 38, 40), *jaṇaṇa* (n., 39), *dharmaṇa* (m., 35, 37–8, 38, 40), *balaṇa* (n., 34), *bejagaṇa* (n., 34, 39), *samepaṣaṇaṇa* (n., 34, 38), *spaḏoṭhaṇaṇa* (n., 33–4, 38), *hidriaṇa* (n., 34, 39), *hirdhaupaḏaṇa* (m., 38).

Locative Plural: The ending is *-e,* occurring only once: *[ṣ](*a)[kh](*a)[re]* (m., 25). However, difficulties with the reading make this somewhat uncertain.

6.1.2. Stems in Nonoriginal *-ā*

An original *-ī* stem seems to have become an *-ă̄* stem, as the stem form of the feminine equivalent to Sanskrit *puṣkariṇī*/BHS *puṣkaraṇī*/Pāli *pokkharaṇī* appears as *pukharaṇa* (12). This change might be due to final vowel deletion due to phonetic weakening (see § 5.1.5), or it could be a Paleographic error, omission of the vowel diacritic (see § 4.6.1).

6.1.3. Other Vocalic Stems
6.1.3.1. Stems in Original *-i* and *-ī*

The nominative singular masculine of an original *-i* stem appears in *ṣamaṣi* (1, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 14^M). The corresponding feminine type is represented by *chaḏi* (3). The genitive singular neuter is *[a]suyiṇ[a]* (2), while the nominative plural is *aṭi* (3) = Skt. *asthi*/P *aṭṭhī.*

The instrumental singular feminine of an original *-ī* stem occurs once, *kukuḏia* (40).

The locative singular feminine of an original stem in *-ī* occurs in *śavasti* (28). The two other occurrences of this word may be either locative singular or in compound with the following *ṇi[ḏaṇe]* (15, 22).

The form *pukharaṇa* (12) from an original feminine *-ī* stem (*puṣkaraṇī*) appears as a feminine *-ā* stem (see § 6.1.2.2).

6.1.3.2. Stems in Non-original *-i*

An original *-a* stem has become an *-i* stem through the loss of final *-ya* in *-īya: uḏari* (3) = Skt. *audarya*/BHS *audarīyaka*/P *udariya.*

6.1.3.3. Stems in Original -*u*

The masculine is attested for *bhikhu-* = Skt. *bhikṣu-*, and *eḏu-* = Skt. *hetu-:*

Singular: nominative *bhikhu* (1, 5, 10, 32), *eḏu* (19, 37); genitive *bhikhusa* (35).

Plural: genitive *bhikhuṇa* (32); vocative *bhikṣave* (16, 23, 29).

The neuter is attested in the nominative singular *aśu* (4) and accusative singular *rmaḏo* (11, 13).

6.1.4. Original Consonant Stems

6.1.4.1. Stems in Original -*an*

The nominative singular of -*an* stems appears in *atva* = Skt. *ātmā* (19), and *loma* > Skt. *lomā* (3).

6.1.4.4. Stems in Original -*ant*

The contracted vocative singular masculine appears as *bhate* (19), which corresponds directly to Pāli *bhante*. All other examples of -*ant* stems are present participles (see below § 6.3.8.1):

Nominative singular: *pariyaṇa* (=Skt. *parijānan;* 26), *pariyaṇo* (25), *viharate* (=Skt. *viharan;* 24).

Genitive singular: *jaṇasa* (29), *paśaṣa* (29), *(*apa)[śa]ḏa* (29), *jaṇaḏa* (29), *paśaḏa* (29, 31), *viharaḏe* (35–36).

6.1.4.5. Stems in Original -*vant*

Two singular forms equivalent to the Skt. masculine noun *bhagavant* occur in this text: nominative *bhayava* (21, 27[M], 28), accusative *bhayavata* (32).

6.1.5. Nominal Compounds

Allon observed that "virtually all of the compounds in this text [the EĀ-G] are G equivalents of the forms found in parallel P texts and no doubt represent straightforward translations or 'transpositions' of what was encountered in the source text" (Allon 2001: 114). This conclusion must be due, in part, to the difficulty in identifying compounds when we do not have a parallel to guide us in that decision, since, due to the breakdown in the inflectional

system, in particular the high number of nominative singular endings in *-a* (see § 6.1.1.1.1–2), it is often difficult to distinguish a compound from an inflected form. There are examples of lists in this manuscript which have transparent or omitted endings, but which need not necessarily be viewed as a compound. For example, the sequence *veḍaṇa saña ṣakhara vi[ña]ṇe* appears to be a normal dvandva compound with the locative singular ending *-e* on the last item only. The same sequence occurs again in the next line, this time with the *-e* ending applied to each word, regardless of gender and number: *veḍ(*a)ṇe sañe ṣ(*a)kh(*a)re v(*i)ñ(*a)ṇ(*e)* (25), corresponding to Pāli *vedanāya saññāya saṅkhāresu viññāṇe*. Therefore, when this list occurs a third time with no explicit endings, the ending *-a* could represent the accusative in all cases, or it could be a compound: *veḍaṇ(*a) ṣ(*a)ñ(*a) sakhara viñaṇa* (25–6). In this example, the Pāli parallel does not help since it is constructed slightly differently: *vedanaṃ parijānaṃ, saññaṃ parijānaṃ, saṅkhāre parijānaṃ, viññāṇam parijānaṃ.* Keeping this problem in mind, the following examples illustrate the likely compounds found in this manuscript.

*a[ṇavi]ra⟨*ḍa⟩-saña-sahagaḍa-samaṣi* (10, 14[M])

abhoaśa-gaḍa (1, 6)

arama-ramaṇea (12)

aśua-ṣaña-sahagaḍa-ṣamaṣi (1, 5)

aṣuyi-puḍi-puḍua (9)

eka-gaḍa (5, 7, 14)

oḍaṇa-k[u]ma[ṣa] (8)

kala-mala (9)

*keśa-[mast](*aka)* (2)

*jaḍi-jara-viasi-mar(*a)ṇ(*a)s(*pa)* (27)

ṇivriḍa-bahulo (23, 24, 25)

taṣa-bhuḍaṣa (4, 7, 9, 14)

triṇa-ka[ṭha]-śaha-patra-palaśa (18)

tvaya-payata (2)

paḍi[k]ula-ṣaña-ṣahagaḍa-ṣamaṣi (7–8, 9)

pukharaṇa-rama(*ṇ)e(*a) (12)

[pra]vaḏa-ramaṇea (12)

bhavaṇaṇuyoḵa (35)

bhumi-ramaṇea (12)

maraṇa-saña-ṣahagaḏa-ṣamaṣi (5)

rukṣa-mula-gaḏa (1, 5–6)

vaṇa-ramaṇea (12)

veḏaṇa-saña-ṣakhara-viñaṇa (25–6)

veḏaṇa-saña-ṣakhara-viñaṇe (24)

śava[st]i-ṇi (22)

śava[st]i-ṇiḏaṇe (15)

śuñagara-gaḏa (6)

śoḵa-paridev(*a- dukha-domaṇasta)-[u]ayaṣa (27)

sarva-loga (10)

sarva-loge (14–14^M)

6.2. Pronouns, Pronominals, and Numerals

6.2.1. Personal Pronouns

The nominative singular of the first person pronoun is *aho* (36). The enclitic form of the genitive singular occurs once as *me* (36). The accusative plural is *aspe* (18), equivalent to Sanskrit *asmān*/Pāli *amhe*. The genitive plural of the second person pronoun occurs eight times, always as *tuspahu* (16 [3×], 17, 18, 20 [2×], 21), corresponding to Sanskrit *yuṣmākaṃ*/Pāli *tumhākaṃ*.

6.2.2. Third-Person/Demonstrative Pronouns

6.2.2.1. *tad-* and *etad-*

The pronoun *tad* is attested in the nominative singular in all genders. The masculine is *so* (11 [2×], 13, 24, 25), and the neuter *ta* (16 [4×], 17 [2×], 18 [2×], 20 [4×], 21 [2×], 37), the feminine might be *ṣe* (36) but another interpretation is possible (see text notes),The accusative neuter is attested once as *[ta]* (8). The genitive masculine *ḏasa* (36) occurs once.

Table 20. Conspectus of third person/demonstrative pronoun forms

	Singular			Plural		
	Masculine	Neuter	Feminine	Masculine	Neuter	Feminine
Nominative	*so* *eṣe* *aya*	*ta* *eḏa(m-)* *(h)iḏa(m-)*	*ṣe* — —	— — *maṇa*	*taṇi* — —	— — —
Accusative	— — *imam*	*[ta]* *eḏaḏ-* —	— — —	— — —	— — —	— — —
Instrumental	— — —		*amae*	— — —		— — —
Genitive	*ḏasa* — —		— — —	— — *[i]meṣa*		— — —
Locative	*te, [to]* — *himaspi*		— — —	— — —		— — —

Here it is striking that the initial is *ḏ-* rather than the expected *t-;* This may suggest it was construed as an enclitic with the preceding *aṣa* (see Phonology § 5.2.1.4). It is also possible that the form *ṣe* (36), identified as nominative feminine above, could be genitive singular masculine (see text notes). The forms *[to]* (11) and *te* (11, 13) must be locative in view of the context, though the inflections are unexpected. *Te* is apparently analogous to the nominal declension based on a stem *ta-,* instead of the expected Gāndhārī form *taspi,* cognate to Sanskrit *tasmin*/Pāli *tamhi.* This, and the equivalent form *taśpi,* are both well attested in other Gāndhārī manuscripts (*taspi* AG-GS 10 [2×]; RS 20.16, 18, 19; *taśpi* AG-G[L] 60a; EĀ-G 19, 20), although in most of these instances it functions as an ablative, due to the merger of the locative ending derived from *-smin* and the ablative *-smāt* (see Allon 2001: 199–200 and Salomon In Progress). Some support for this interpretation of *te* is found in the Niya Documents, where this form appears several times in a locative context, for example, *te masu śaṭuṃmi* 'in that vineyard' (ND 586 under-tablet obv. 3; see Burrow 1937: § 80). If this is correct, then the form *[to]* must be a secondary development from *te,* reflecting the general problem of the alternation of *o* and *e* (see Phonology § 5.1.2.7).

The nominative plural neuter is *taṇi* (40).

The pronoun *etad* occurs three times in the nominative singular: masculine *eṣe* (18), and neuter *eḏa* (19)/*eḏam-* (in *eḏam=aṣa*, 18). The accusative singular neuter is *eḏaḏ-* (in *eḏaḏ=[o]ya*, 32).

6.2.2.2. *idam-*

The nominative singular masculine is *aya* (9, 14, 23, 30 [6×], 31). *Aya* should be plural to agree with *ṣakhare* (= Skt. *saṃskārāḥ*, 30; see § 6.1.1.1.5), but *aya* as plural is unexpected. The nominative singular neuter is *iḏa* (6). The nominative plural neuter is *maṇa* (40) equivalent to Sanskrit *imāni*, but here the missing initial *i* is peculiar, possibly due sandhi (see Phonology § 5.5.2, and text note on *maṇa*, Chapter 11, line 40).

The accusative singular masculine is *imam* (1), and the neuter is either *iḏam* (21) or *hiḏam* (27) showing insertion of non-etymological *h* preceding the initial (see Phonology § 5.1.1).

Three forms of the oblique are found in this text: the instrumental feminine is *amae* (40) which seems to reflect the form in Pāli *imayā*/BHS *imāye*, assuming an omitted vowel diacritic on the initial (see Paleography § 4.6.1), or possibly, it preserves the *a-* stem of Sanskrit *anayā* (see text notes on *amae* Chapter 11 line 40); the locative singular neuter is *himaspi* (17), again showing the initial aspiration seen with *iḏam/hiḏam*. The genitive plural masculine is *[i]meṣa* (39–40).

6.2.3. Relative Pronoun

The relative pronoun *yad-* is attested seven times, always as *ya*, nominative singular neuter (4, 7, 9, 16, 17, 19, 23).

6.2.4. Interrogative Pronouns
6.2.4.1. *kad-*

The nominative singular neuter of the interrogative pronoun is *ki* (18). Like Pāli, but unlike Sanskrit, the stem vowel *-i-* persists in the oblique cases: ablative singular, *ki[spi]* (32); genitive singular, *kiṣa* (33, 37 [2×]).

6.2.4.2. *katara-*

The nominative singular masculine is *kaḏara* (1, 7). In the genitive plural the form is *kaḏareṣe* (33, 38).

6.2.5. Pronominally Declined Adjectives

The only example of a pronominal adjective is *egacaṇa* (=Skt. *ekatyānāṃ/*Pāli *ekaccānaṃ;* 32), genitive plural.

6.2.6. Numerals

Number words occur in this manuscript in two contexts, both in the *Vasijaḍa sūtra (Chapter 11). The first is in the list of the factors that contribute to enlightenment (*bodhipakkhiyadhamma*), where the subgroups of factors are qualified by the number of items they contain (33–4, 38–9). The second context is in the simile of the hen, in reference to the number of her eggs (40).

In the first group, the numbers all appear in the genitive plural masculine/neuter: *caḏoṇa* (=Skt. *caturṇāṃ/*Pāli *catunnaṃ;* 33, 34 [2×], 38 [2×])/*caḏuṇa* (39), *pacaṇa* (=Skt. *pañcānāṃ/*Pāli *pañcannaṃ;* 34 [2×], 39 [2×]), *sataṇa* (=Skt. *saptānāṃ/*Pāli *sattannaṃ;* 34). The number eight (*aṭha*) occurs as the first member of the *dvigu* compound *aṭhagiasa/aṭhagiaṣa* (=BHS *aṣṭāṅgikasya/*Pāli *aṭṭhaṅgikassa;* 35, 39; see above § 6.1.1.2. Oblique Cases, and § 6.1.5. Compounds).

The numbers in the second context are all nominative plural neuter: *(*a)[ṭh](*a)* (=Skt. *aṣṭa/*Pāli *aṭṭha;* 40) *daśa* (=Skt. *daśa/*Pāli *dasa;* 40), *[baḏa]śa* (=Skt. *dvādaśa/*Pāli *dvādasa;* 40).

6.3. Verbal Forms

6.3.1. Present Tense

The first-person singular ending is *-mi,* in *vaḏemi* (27, 29 [2×], 31)*.* The second-person singular ending is *-si,* in *vaḏeṣi* (32). These forms of √*vad* show palatalization of the second syllable, suggesting the stem is based on and underlying form *vadaya-* (see Phonology § 5.1.2.1).

The ending of the third-person singular is in most cases -*di* (sixteen words, thirty-three occurrences): *aviramadi* (11, 13), *ukaṭadi* (11, 12, 14), *(*karo)di* (11), *chidadi* (19), *damedi* (11, 13), *dahadi* (19), *[p](*a)[c](*a)[ekṣ](*a)[di]* (2), *parikaṣadi* (11, 13, 14), *paridame[di]* (11, 13), *parimucadi* (26 [3×], 27), *pariyaṇadi* (25), *paśadi* (10 [2×]), *ramadi* (11, 13), *vimucadi* (33, 37), *vucadi/vujadi* (5, 7, 8, 9, 14), *[h](*a)[r](*a)[di]* (19). Less common is the ending -*ti* (three words, six occurrences): *avimucati* (8 [3×], 9), *pariyaṇa[ti]* (24), *bhoti* (23). For details on the sound changes connected with the dentals *t,* and *d,* see Phonology § 5.2.1.4.

The second-person plural ending is -*ṣa,* seen in just one example, *mañaṣa* (18).

6.3.2. Optative

The endings for the optative third-person singular are -*ea, -e, -a.*

-*ea* (six words, seven occurrences): *[u]pajea* (36), *karea* (18), *chidea* (18), *vimucea* (36), *viharea* (24 [2×]), *hare[a]* (18).

-*e* (one occurrence): *kare* (19). However the parallel leads us to expect an indicative here; see note in chapter 8 of the edition.

-*a* (one occurrence): *aṣa* (18), equivalent to Sanskrit *syāt*/Pāli *assa*.

There is one example of what ought to be a third-person plural optative of √*as*. The form is *ṣa* (40)*,* which should be equivalent to Sanskrit *syuḥ* and Pāli *assa* (or *siyuṃ*). Probably the Gāndhārī form shows loss of initial *a* due to sandhi with the preceding *taṇi,* compare *tānassu* in the Pāli parallel (see Phonology § 5.5.2). The full form *aṣa would then be directly equivalent to Pāli *assa* following the development OIA *sy* > *ṣ,* which is normal in this text (see Phonology § 5.2.2.7). Compare also, Gāndhārī *siyasu* (Shāhbāzgaṛhī RE 12, CKI 12.7).

6.3.3. Imperative

The second-person plural imperative is seen in six occurrences of the same word. While there are variations in the spelling of the stem, the ending is consistently -*ṣa: pracajaaṣa* (16), *pajaaṣa* (16), *pacaaṣa* (17), *pacahaṣa* (20, 21), *pracaeṣa* (20).

6.3.4. Future

The first person singular ending is *-iśami* (three words, four occurrences): *jiviśami* (6), *javiśami* (6), *mariśami* (6 [2×]).

The third person singular occurs three times with √*bhu: bhaviśaḏi* (17, 20, 21).

The future of the first person plural passive is seen in *atararaṣaïśama* (6–7), equivalent to Sanskrit *antardhāyiṣyāmi.* In this case, the absence of final *i* probably reflects scribal omission (see Paleography § 4.6.1).

6.3.5. Preterites

There are just three occurrences of preterite forms in this manuscript, all third-person singular: *eyi* (21, 27), *[o]ya* (32). Despite the alternation of *e/o* (see Phonology § 5.1.2.8), these are all forms of √*vac,* equivalent to Sanskrit *avocat.*

6.3.7. Absolutives (Gerunds)

Only absolutives based on original *-(i)tvā* are attested in this manuscript. The only form from original *-tvā* is *drispa* (= Skt. *dṛṣṭvā,* 10 [2×], 12 [5×]). Forms from original *-itvā* appear as *-ita: karita* (11, 13), *damita* (11, 13), *paridamita/paradamita* (11, 13).

6.3.8. Participles

6.3.8.1. Present Participles Parasmaipada in *-ant-*

Examples are: *jaṇaḏa* (29), *jaṇasa* (29), *pariyaṇo* (25), *paśaṣa* (29), *paśaḏa* (29, 31), *viharate* (24), *viharaḏe* (35–6). For details of the inflections, see above § 6.1.4.4.

6.3.8.2. Past Participles

Examples of past participles are common. All correspond to those found in Pāli and Sanskrit.

Forms in original *-ta/-ita: aṇ(*avi)[ra]ḏa* (= Skt. *anabhirata-,* 14[M]), *aṇuyu[t]aṣa* (= Skt. *ananuyukta-,* 35), *gaḏa* (= Skt. *gata-,* 1 [2×], 6 [3×]), *ṭiḏa* (= Skt. *sthita-,* 1), *paribhaviḏaṇa* (= Skt. *paribhūta-,* 42), *pariśpeiḏaṇa* (= Skt. *parisveda-,* 41), *praṇihiḏa* (= Skt. *praṇihita-,* 2).

There is one past participle in original *-na: prahiṇa* (= Skt. *prahīna-,* 16 [2×], 20 [2×]).

6.3.8.4. Future Passive Participles (Gerundives)

There are two possible examples of a gerundive in this manuscript, both from √*vac,* but in both cases only the endings survive. While the reconstruction is not without some uncertainty, the interpretation of the endings is fairly secure: *(*vaca)[ṇ]io* (33) and *(*vacaṇ)[io]* (37). They are based on the future passive participle form in original *-anīya,* and equivalent to Sanskrit *vacanīya-.*

Transcribed Text, Reconstruction, and Translation

In § 7.1 the text is presented as it appears in the reconstructed manuscript. The fragment or fragments on which each portion of the text is found are indicated by small superscript fragment numbers, separated by a thin vertical line. For the descriptions and details of the separate fragments, see § 3.3. For explanation of the format of the transcription, including the symbols indicating incomplete or uncertain akṣaras and the like, see p. xiii.

The reconstructed text and the translation of the reconstructed text appear in § 7.2, with each sūtra presented separately. The reconstructed portions of the text and the translation of these reconstructed portions appear in parentheses, prefixed with an asterisk (*).

7.1. Transcribed Text

1 |A kaḍara aśuaṣañasahagaḍaṣamaṣi iśe bhikhu rukṣa[mul.g.]+ + +[ñ.g.]ragaḍa va |A+c+D61 |D61 |B+D62 |B

 abhoaśagaḍa va imam=eva kaya yaṣaṭiḍ[e]

2 |A yaṣapraṇihiḍ[e] udva paḍatala tvayapayata asa keśa[mast.]+ ++ ++[p..k.r.s.] |D61 |D62 |B

 [a]suyiṇ[a p.c.ekṣ.ḍi] ? [ḍi] + [.e a.]+ ? [k.yi k.]

3 |A śa loma ṇaga da raya jala tvaya chaḍi aṭi aṭi[mi]+ ++ ++ ++ +++ [hiḍ.]+ [kr]umao priao |A+e |A |B |B+D27

 |B pa[śpru]ṣa atra atraguṇa guza uḍari

4 |A puriṣa aśu śpeḍa khaḍe śigaṇa pu[ya lohiḍ.] ++ +++ ++ ++ +[s.k]ae masta mastal[ug.] |A+g |A+h |A |B

 |B [ya taṣabhuḍaṣa pu]galaṣa jitaṣa

5 |A ekagraḍa avikṣev. [a]+ [v]ucaḍi aśuaṣañasahagaḍa[ṣ.]++ ++[r.] |A+D82 |B

 |B [m.]raṇaṣañaṣahagaḍaṣamaṣi iśe bhikhu rukṣamu

6 |A lagaḍa va śuñagaragaḍa va abhoaśagaḍa va iḍa [bha]ḍa + + + + + + [m.]riśami ṇa jira |A+i |A+j |A |B

 |B jiviśami javiśami mariśami atara

7 |A raṣaïśama ya taṣabhuḍaṣa pugalaṣa jitaṣa ekagraḍa a[vi]++ ++ ++[ḍi] |B

 |B maraṇa[sa]ñasahagaḍaṣamaṣi kaḍara ahara paḍiku |B+k |B

8 |A
lasañasahagaḍasamasi ahara vujaḍi oḍaṇak[u]ma[ṣa ta bhikh.] |B +riṣa a ti avimucati

   |B
khaḍa ti avimucati vata ti avimucati

9 |A |A+l |A+l+m |A+n |A+n+o |A+o |A |A+D1
aṣuyipuḍipuḍua ti kalamala ti avimucati ya taṣabhuḍaṣa pug[al.]+ +++ ++++

   |B |B+p
+[vi]kṣeva aya vucaḍi ahara [paḍikulasañasaha]gaḍaṣamasi

10 |A |A+l |A+l+m |A |A+q |D1 |D71
+[ḍ.r.] sarvaloga a[ṇavi]rasañasahagaḍasamasi iśe bhikhu gama [v]+ ++ +++ ++[ḍi]

   |B
+[g.]ra va drispa aṇagara paśaḍi [ja]ṇavaḍa va drispa ajaṇavaḍa paśaḍi

11 |A |A+r |D75 |D71
ukaṭaḍi parikasaḍi ṇa ramaḍi ṇa aviramaḍi so [to cito dameḍi] paridame[ḍi] ++ ++ḍi

   |B+D71|B
kamaṇio so te cito damita paridamita rmaḍo karita kamaṇio

12 |A |A+r
asa avareṇa samaeṇa aramaramaṇea va drispa vaṇaramaṇea va drispa pukharaṇa-

   |r |D75 |B
rama[e]+ + ++ +++[ma]ṇea va drispa bhumiramaṇea va drispa [pra]vaḍaramaṇea va

   |B
drispa ukaṭaḍi

13 |A |A+s |A
parikaṣaḍi ṇa ramaḍi ṇa aviramaḍi ṣo te cite dameḍi paridame[ḍi rmaḍ.] +++ ++++ + +

   |B
cit[o] damita paradamita rmaḍo karita kamaṇio asa avareṇa ṣamaeṇa

14 |A |A+u |A |A+u |A |A+s |A
iḍi udva aṣo tiḍa sarvaḍo sarvaḍatavi ukaṭaḍi parikaṣati ṇa [r.]++ + +++++ +

   |B |B+v |B
[t.]ṣabhuḍaṣa pugalaṣa citaṣa ekagraḍa avikṣeva aya vucaḍi sarva

14^M |A
loge aṇ.+[ra]dasaña[sahagaḍi]samaṣi

15 |A+w|A+x|A+x+y |A+z |A
śava[st]iniḍaṇe

16 |A+w+y|A+y |A |A+z |A |A+aa|A |B
ya bhikṣave ṇa tuspahu ta pracajaaṣa ta prahiṇa hiḍae suhae bha[vi]++ ++ + ++[u r]uo

   |B
ṇa tuspahu ta pajaaṣa ta prahiṇa hiḍae suhae bhaviśa

17 |A |A+dd |A+ee |A |D64 |B+D64 |B
veḍaṇe saña sakhara viñaṇa ṇa tuspahu ta pacaaṣa ta +++ [i]ḍae [su]hae bhaviśaḍi

   |B
sayaṣavi yo himaspi jeḍavaṇe

18 |A+gg|A
triṇaka[ṭha]śahapatrapalaśa ta jaṇe chidea va hare[a v]+ +++ + +++[c.a] karea ta ki |B

   |B
mañaṣa avi ṇa tuspahu eḍam=aṣa aspe eṣe

|A+hh|A |A+hh|A | A+D2 |D2 |D34 |B+D34 |B

19   jaṇe chidaḍi va [h.r.ḍi] va dahaḍi va yaṣapacea kare ṇa [hi]+ ++ + +[s.] ed[u] ṇa eḍa

|B

bhate atva va atvaṇi[a.] va evam=eva ya ṇa

|A |A+D21 |D2 |D63 |B

20   tuspahu ta pacahaṣa ta pahiṇa hiḍae suhae bhaviśa[i] ++ ++ hu ruo ṇa tuspahu ta

|B

pracaeṣa ta pahiṇa hiḍae suhae bhaviśaḍi

|A |B

21   veḍaṇa saña ṣakhara viñaṇa t[u]spahu ta pacahaṣa ta pra[h]++ +++ ++[a.] bhaviśaḍi

|B

iḍam=eyi bhayava ◦

|B

22   śava[st]iṇi

|B |A |A+c |A

23   ṣadhasa bhikṣave kul[a]putraṣa ṣadha akarasp=a[ṇag.]++ ++[j.daṣa aya] aṇudharma

|A

bhoti [ya] ruo ṇivriḍabahulo

|B |B+d |A |A+f

24   viharea veḍaṇasañaṣakharavi[ña]ṇe ṇi[vri]++++ +[ha]rea so ruo ṇivriḍa bah[u]le

|A

viharate ruo pariyaṇa[t]i

|B |B+D27 |B |A |A+h|A

25   [veḍ.ṇe sañe ṣ.kh.re v.][ña.ṇ.] [ṇ.r]+++++ ++++ +[ña.ṇ.] pariyaṇaḍi so rua pariyaṇo

|A

veḍa[ṇa s.ñ.]

|B |D82 |A+D82|A |A+i |A

26   sakhara viñaṇa pariyaṇa parimucaḍi r[u]++ ++[muc.]ḍi veḍaṇa saña sakhare

|A

parimucaḍi viñaṇaṣa parimu[c.]+

|B |A+D82 |A |A+i |A

27   jaḍi jara viasi [mar.ṇ.]s.. śoka paridev. ++ ++++ [u]ayaṣa parimucaḍi dukhaspa ḍi

|A

vaḍemi hiḍam=e[yi]

|B

27^M   bhayava

|B

28   bhayava śavasti v.hara

|B |A

29   jaṇasa bhikṣave paśaṣa asavaṇa kṣao vaḍemi ṇa [a]+++ + ++[śa]da kaṣa jaṇaḍa kaṣa

|A |A+l |A

paśaḍa asavaṇa kṣaya vaḍemi [s.y.siḍ.]

|B |B+k|B |B+k |B |D1 |A |A+o |A+n |A+m+n |A+m

30   aya ruo aya ruasa ṣamuḍaa aya ru[as.] ++++ ++ [v.]+[ṇ]o [a]ya sañe aya ṣakhare

|A+m |A+l |A

aya viñaṇo aya viña

166

|B |D1 |A+D1 |A
31 ṇasa samuḍae aya viñaṇasa astaga+ ++ + +++ [a.]va paśaḍa asavaṇa kṣaya vaḍemi

|A
asa o añeare

|B |B+D71 |D71 |D75 |A+r |A
32 bhikhu bhayavata edaḍ=[o]ya eva jaṇa[ḍ.] [ev.] +[ś.ḍa] aṣavaṇa kṣaya vaḍesi aṣa

|A
ki[spi] iśe egacaṇa bhikhuṇa

|B+p |B |B+D71 |D71 |A+r |A |A+s |A |A+u |A
33 ṇa aṇuaḍehi aṣavehi jita vimucaḍi abha[vi]++ ++ ++[ṇ]io kiṣa abhaviḍatva abha[viḍa]

|A |A+t |A |A+z |A+w+x+y+z |w+y |A+w |A |A+u |A++u |A+t |A |A+z |A |A+bb
kuśalaṇa [dharmaṇa kaḍareṣe kuśalaṇa dham]++ abhaviḍatva caḍoṇa spaḍoṭhaṇa

|B |A
34 ṇa caḍoṇa samepasaṇaṇa caḍoṇa hirdhaa.[p.]++ +++ +[ṇ.ṇ.] pacaṇa hidriaṇa pacaṇa

|A+ee |A+dd |A+cc |A+cc+gg|A+bb+gg
balaṇa sataṇa bejagaṇa

|B |B+D35 |D35 |A |A+ff |A
35 ariasa aṭhagiasa magaṣa abhaviḍatva [i]++ ++[l.]ṇa dharmaṇa bhavaṇaṇuyok̄a

|A|A+ee|A
aṇaṇuyu[t]aṣa bhikhusa viha

|B |B+D64|D64 |A |A+ii
36 raḍe kicavi ṣe eve iche [u]pajea aho [vaḍa m.] ++[a]ḍehi aṣavehi jite vimucea aṣa ḍasa

|A |A+ii |A
[ṇo] ṇa aṇua[ḍe]

|B |B+D64|D64 |D2 |A+D2 |A
37 asave jita vimucaḍi ta kiṣa eḍu abha[vi]++ ++ ++[io] kiṣa abhaviḍatva abhaviḍatva

|A |A+ll |A
kuśalaṇa dharma

|B |B+kk |B |B+kk |B |A+D2 |A
38 ṇa kaḍareṣe kuśalaṇa dharmaṇa abhaviḍa[tv]+ +++ +++ṇaṇa caḍoṇa ṣamepasaṇaṇa

|A |A+ll |A
caḍoṇa hirdhaupaḍaṇa

|B+jj |B |B+D34 |A+D21 |A |A+mm
39 caḍoṇa jaṇaṇa pacaṇa idriaṇa pacaṇa ba[l.ṇ.] +++ ++gaṇa ariasa aṭhagiasa maga[ṣ]a a

|A |A+nn
abhaviḍatva [i]

|B |A |A+oo|A |A+mm
40 meṣa kuśalaṇa dharmaṇa ṣayaṣavi kuku[ḍ.]+ ++++ +[ṭh.] va daśa va [baḍa]śa va taṇi ṣa

|A+mm |A
amae kukuḍia maṇa

|B |A
41 aḍagaṇ[i] ṇa kaliṇa kalo same aviśa+++ + +++ [k.la] same pariśpeiḍaṇa

|B
42 ṇa kaliṇa kale same paribhaviḍaṇa

7.2. Reconstruction and Translation of the Text

7.2.1. The Ṣaña-sutra

[1] *kaḍara aśua-ṣaña-sahagaḍa-ṣamaṣi iśe bhikhu rukṣa-mul(*a)-g(*aḍa va śu)ñ(*a)g(*a)ra-gaḍa va abhoaśa-gaḍa va imam eva kaya yaṣa-ṭiḍe [2] yaṣa-praṇihiḍe udva paḍatala tvaya-payata asa keśa-mast(*aka pura ṇaṇa)-p(*ra)k(*a)r(*a)s(*a) asuyiṇa p(*a)c(*a)ekṣ(*a)ḍi ? ḍi + .e a.(*ma) ? k(*a)yi k(*e)[3]śa loma ṇaga da⟨ta⟩ raya jala tvaya chaḍi aṭi aṭimi(*ja masa śaru vaka yaḳaṇa) hiḍ(*aya) krumao priao paśpruṣa atra atraguṇa guza uḍari [4] puriṣa aśu śpeḍa khaḍe śigaṇa puya lohiḍ(*a pita śileśpa meḍa vasa la)s(*i)ḳae masta mastalug(*a) ya taṣa-bhuḍaṣa pugalaṣa jitaṣa [5] ekagraḍa avikṣev(*a) a(*ya) vucaḍi aśua-ṣaña-sahagaḍa-ṣ(*amaṣi)

(*kaḍa)r(*a) m(*a)raṇa-ṣaña-sahagaḍa-ṣamaṣi iśe bhikhu rukṣa-mu[6]la-gaḍa va śuñ-agara-gaḍa va abhoaśa-gaḍa va iḍa bhaḍa + + + + + + m(*a)riśami ṇa jira jiviśami javiśami mariśami atara[7]saïśama ya taṣa-bhuḍaṣa pugalaṣa jitaṣa ekagraḍa avi(*kṣeva aya vuca)ḍi maraṇa-ṣaña-sahagaḍa-ṣamaṣi

kaḍara ahara paḍiku[8]la-ṣaña-sahagaḍa-ṣamaṣi ahara vujaḍi oḍaṇa-kumaṣa ta bhikh(*u +++ ++ ++ ++ pu)riṣa ti avimucati khaḍa ti avimucati vata ti avimucati [9] aṣuyi-puḍi-puḍua ti kala-mala ti avimucati ya taṣa-bhuḍaṣa pugal(*aṣa jitaṣa ekagraḍa a)vikṣeva aya vucaḍi ahara paḍikula-ṣaña-sahagaḍa-ṣamaṣi

[10] (*ka)ḍ(*a)r(*a) sarva-loga aṇavira⟨*ḍa⟩-ṣaña-sahagaḍa-ṣamaṣi iśe bhikhu gama v(*a drispa agama paśa)ḍi (*ṇa)g(*a)ra va drispa aṇagara paśaḍi jaṇavaḍa va drispa ajaṇavaḍa paśaḍi [11] ukaṭaḍi parikasaḍi ṇa ramaḍi ṇa aviramaḍi so to cito dameḍi paridameḍi (*rmaḍo karo)ḍi kamaṇio so te cito damita paridamita rmaḍo karita kamaṇio [12] asa avareṇa samaeṇa arama-ramaṇea va drispa vaṇa-ramaṇea va drispa pukharaṇa-rama(*ṇ)e(*a va drispa ṇaḍi-ra)maṇea va drispa bhumi-ramaṇea va drispa pravaḍa-ramaṇea va drispa ukaṭaḍi [13] parikasaḍi ṇa ramaḍi ṇa aviramaḍi ṣo te cite dameḍi paridameḍi rmaḍ(*o karoḍi kamaṇio so te) cito damita paradamita rmaḍo karita kamaṇio asa avareṇa ṣamaeṇa [14] iḍi udva aṣo ṭiḍa sarvaḍo sarvaḍatavi ukaṭaḍi parikaṣati ṇa r(*amaḍi ṇa aviramaḍi ya) t(*a)ṣa-bhuḍaṣa pugalaṣa citaṣa ekagraḍa avikṣeva aya vucaḍi sarva[14^M]loge aṇ(*avi)raḍa-ṣaña-ṣahagaḍi-ṣamaṣi

The Sutra on the Perceptions (*_saña-sutra_)

[1] What is the concentration connected with perception of foulness? In regard to this, a monk who is at the root of a tree, or in an empty house, or in an open space, examines this very body, as it is placed, [2] as it is disposed, upwards from the sole of the foot, surrounded by skin, downwards from the tip of the hair, (*full) of impurity of (*various) kinds. (*There is in this) body: head hair, [3] body hair, nails, teeth, dust, networks, outer skin, thin skin, bones, bone marrow, (*flesh, sinews, kidney, liver), heart, pleura, spleen, lungs, small intestine, large instestine, anus, bladder, [4] fecal matter, tears, sweat, saliva, mucus, pus, blood, (*bile, phlegm, fat, grease), joint-fluids, head, and brain. It is the undistracted one-pointedness of mind of a person so positioned, which is called "the concentration connected with the perception of foulness."

[5] (*What) is the concentration connected with the perception of death? In regard to this, a monk who is [6] at the root of a tree, or in an empty house, or in an open space, this one … [thinks] "I will die, I will not live long, I will perish, I will die, [7] I will disappear. (*It) is the undistracted one-pointedness of mind of a person so positioned, which is called "the concentration connected with the perception of death."

What is the [8] concentration connected with the perception of the repulsiveness of food? By 'food' is meant porridge, sour gruel; this, the monk . . . realizes is 'fecal matter'; he realizes [it is] 'saliva'; he realizes [it is] 'vomit'; [9] he realizes [it is] 'a lump of putrid bodily secretions'—'black filth'. It is the undistracted (*one-pointedness of mind) of a person so positioned, which is called "the concentration connected with the perception of the repulsiveness of food."

[10] What is the concentration connected with the perception of non-delight in the entire world? In regard to this, a monk (*upon seeing) a village sees (*a non-village); or upon seeing a town sees a non-town; upon seeing a district sees a non-district. [11] He is dissatisfied. He reflects. He does not take pleasure. He does not delight. He tames and controls [his] mind [with regard to] that, and makes it (*pliant) and workable. Having tamed and controlled his mind [with regard to] that, and made it pliant and workable, [12] then, some time later, when he has seen a delightful park, or a delightful grove, or a delightful

lotus pool, or a delightful (*river), or delightful grounds, or a delightful mountain, he is dissatisfied. [13] He reflects. He does not enjoy. He does not delight. He tames and controls [his] mind [with regard to] that, and (*makes it) pliant and (*workable). Having tamed and controlled his mind [with regard to] (*that), and made it pliant and workable, then, some time later, [14] thus above, below, across, in every direction, everywhere . . . he is dissatisfied. He reflects. He (*does not enjoy. He does not delight). It is the undistracted one-pointedness of mind of a person so positioned, which is called [14^M] "the concentration connected with the perception of non-delight in the entire world."

7.2.2. The Natuspahu-sutra

[15] *śavasti-ṇidaṇe* [16] *ya bhikṣave ṇa tuspahu ta pracaaṣa ta prahiṇa hidae suhae bhavi(*śadi kica ṇa tuspah)u ruo ṇa tuspahu ta pajaaṣa ta prahiṇa hidae suhae bhaviśa⟨*di⟩* [17] *vedaṇe saña sakhara viñaṇa ṇa tuspahu ta pacaaṣa ta (*prahiṇa h)idae suhae bhaviśadi*

sayaṣavi yo himaspi jedavaṇe [18] *triṇa-kaṭha-śaha-patra-palaśa ta jaṇe chidea va harea v(*a dahea va yaṣapa)c(*e)a karea ta ki mañaṣa avi ṇa tuspahu edam aṣa aspe eṣe* [19] *jaṇe chidadi va h(*a)r(*a)di va dahadi va yaṣapacea kare ṇa hi(*da bhate ta ki)s(*a) edu ṇa eda bhate atva va atvaṇia. va*

evam eva ya ṇa [20] *tuspahu ta pacahaṣa ta pahiṇa hidae suhae bhaviśa(*d)i (*evam eva) hu ruo ṇa tuspahu ta pracaeṣa ta pahiṇa hidae suhae bhaviśadi* [21] *vedaṇa saña sakhara viñaṇa ⟨*ṇa⟩ tuspahu ta pacahaṣa ta prah(*iṇa hidae suha)a. bhaviśadi idam eyi bhayava ◦*

The Not Yours Sutra (*natuspahu-sutra)

[15] The setting is in Śavasti. [16] What, monks, is not yours, you should abandon that. When abandoned, that will be for [your] benefit and ease. (*Moreover, what is not yours?) Form is not yours, you should abandon that. When abandoned, that will be for [your] benefit and ease. [17] Feeling; perception; conditioned forces; perceptual consciousness are not yours, you should abandon them. (*When abandoned), that will be for [your] benefit and ease.

"[It is] just as if [18] a person were to cut, or carry off, or (*burn, or) do as they need with, the grass, sticks, branches, leaves, and foliage in this Jeda grove. Then what do you

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think? Would this occur to you?: [19] 'This person cuts us, or carries us off, or burns us, or may do as he needs with us'?" "Indeed, this is not the case, (*Sir)." "Why is (*that)?" "[Because], this [Jeḍa-grove], Sir, neither is the self, nor belongs to the self."

In the same way, you should abandon what is not [20] yours. When abandoned, it will be for [your] benefit and ease. (*In the same way,) form is not yours, you should abandon that. When abandoned, it will be for [your] benefit and ease. [21] Feelings; conception; conditioned forces; perceptual consciousness is ⟨*not⟩ yours, you should abandon that. When abandoned, it will be for [your] (*benefit and ease). This is what the Lord said.

7.2.3. The Nivriḍabahulo-sutra

[22] *śavasti-ṇi* [23] *ṣadhasa bhikṣave kulaputraṣa ṣadha aḵarasp aṇag(*aria parva)j(*i)ḍaṣa aya aṇudharma bhoti ya ruo ṇivriḍa-bahulo* [24] *viharea veḍaṇa-saña-ṣakhara-viñaṇe ṇivri(*ḍa-bahulo vi)harea*

so ruo ṇivriḍa bahule viharate ruo pariyaṇati [25] *veḍ(*a)ṇe sañe ṣ(*a)kh(*a)re v(*i)ñ(*a)ṇ(*e) ṇ(*iv)r(*iḍa-bahulo viharate vi)ñ(*a)ṇ(*a) pariyaṇaḍi*

*so rua pariyaṇo veḍaṇa ṣ(*a)ñ(*a)* [26] *sakhara viñaṇa pariyaṇa parimucaḍi ru(*aspa pari)muc(*a)ḍi veḍaṇa saña sakhare parimucaḍi viñaṇaṣa parimuc(*aḍi)* [27] *jaḍi jara viasi mar(*a)ṇ(*a)s(*pa) śoḵa paridev(*a dukha domaṇasta) uayaṣa parimucaḍi dukhaspa ḍi vaḍemi hiḍam eyi* [27^M] *bhayava*

The Full of Disgust Sutra (*nivriḍabahulo-sutra*)

[22] The setting is in Śavasti. [23] For one having faith, Monks, for a noble son who has gone forth from the home to homelessness out of faith, this accords with the dharma: [24] That he should live full of disgust with respect to form: he should live (*full) of disgust with respect to feeling, perception, conditioned forces, and perceptual consciousness.

Living full of disgust with respect to form, he fully understands form. [25] (*Living full) of disgust with respect to feeling, perception, conditioned forces, and perceptual consciousness, [he] fully understands perceptual consciousness.

Fully understanding form, [26] fully understanding feeling, perception, conditioned forces, and perceptual consciousness, he is released from form, is released from feeling,

perception, conditioned forces, [he] is released from perceptual consciousness, [27] [he] is released from birth, ageing, sickness and death, grief, lamentations, (*suffering, despair), and frustration. [He] is released from suffering, so I say. [27^M] This is what the Lord said.

7.2.4. The *Vasijaḍa-sūtra

[28] *bhayava śavasti v(*i)hara⟨*ḍi⟩* [29] *jaṇasa bhikṣave paśasa asavaṇa kṣao vaḍemi ṇa a(*jaṇaḍa ṇa apa)śaḍa kaṣa jaṇaḍa kaṣa paśaḍa asavaṇa kṣaya vaḍemi s(*a)y(*a)siḍ(*a)* [30] *aya ruo aya ruasa samuḍaa aya ruas(*a astagamo aya) v(*eḍa)ṇo aya sañe aya ṣakhare aya viñaṇo aya viña*[31]*ṇasa samuḍae aya viñaṇasa astaga(*mo eva o jaṇaḍa) a.va paśaḍa asavaṇa kṣaya vaḍemi*

asa o añeare [32] *bhikhu bhayavata edaḍ oya eva jaṇaḍ(*a) ev(*a pa)ś(*a)ḍa aṣavaṇa kṣaya vaḍeṣi aṣa kispi iśe egacaṇa bhikhuṇa* [33] *ṇa aṇuaḍehi aṣavehi jita vimucaḍi abhavi(*ḍatva taṣa vaca)ṇio kiṣa abhaviḍatva abhaviḍa⟨*tva⟩ kuśalaṇa dharmaṇa kaḍareṣe kuśalaṇa dha(*r)m(*aṇa) abhaviḍatva caḍoṇa spaḍoíhaṇa*[34]*ṇa caḍoṇa samepaṣaṇaṇa caḍoṇa hirdhaa.p(*aḍaṇa caḍoṇa ja)ṇ(*a)ṇ(*a) pacaṇa hidriaṇa pacaṇa balaṇa sataṇa bejagaṇa* [35] *ariasa aṭhagiasa magaṣa abhaviḍatva i(*meṣa kuśa)l(*a)ṇa dharmaṇa*

bhavaṇaṇuyoka aṇaṇuyutaṣa bhikhusa viha[36]*raḍe kicavi ṣe eve iche upajea aho vaḍa m(*e aṇu)aḍehi aṣavehi jite vimucea aṣa ḍasa ṇo ṇa aṇuaḍe* [37] *asave jita vimucaḍi ta kiṣa edu abhavi(*ḍatva taṣa vacaṇ)io kiṣa abhaviḍatva abhaviḍatva kuśalaṇa dharma* [38] *ṇa kaḍareṣe kuśalaṇa dharmaṇa abhaviḍatv(*a caḍoṇa spaḍoíha)ṇaṇa caḍoṇa ṣamepaṣaṇaṇa caḍoṇa hirdhaupaḍaṇa* [39] *caḍoṇa jaṇaṇa pacaṇa idriaṇa pacaṇa bal(*a)ṇ(*a sataṇa beja)gaṇa ariasa aṭhagiaṣa magaṣa abhaviḍatva i*[40]*meṣa kuśalaṇa dharmaṇa*

ṣayaṣavi kukuḍ(*ia aḍagaṇi a)ṭh(*a) va ḍaśa va baḍaśa va taṇi ṣa amae kukuḍia maṇa [41] *aḍagaṇi ṇa kaliṇa kalo same aviśa(*yiḍaṇa ṇa kaliṇa) k(*a)la same pariśpeiḍaṇa* [42] *ṇa kaliṇa kale same paribhaviḍaṇa*

The Adze Handle Sutra (*vasijaḍa-sutra*)

[28] The Lord was staying in Śavasti. [29] "Monks, I say the destruction of the taints is for one who knows [and] sees, not for one who does not (*know [and] does not) see. I say the destruction of the taints is for one who knows how and sees how? To wit: [for one who

knows] [30] "This is form, this is the arising of form, this is the (*passing away) of form; (*this) is feeling; this is perception; these are the conditioned forces; this is perceptual consciousness, this is the [31] arising of perceptual consciousness, this is the passing away of perceptual consciousness." (*So) I say the destruction of the taints is for one (*who knows thus), who sees thus."

Then a certain [32] monk said this to the Lord. "You say the destruction of the taints is for one who knows thus, who sees thus. Then, why, in regard to this, is [33] the mind of some monks not liberated from the taints without clinging?" "It must be said, 'due to (*its) non-cultivation.'" "Due to the non-cultivation of what?" "Due to the non-cultivation of the wholesome states." "Of which wholesome states?" "Due to the non-cultivation of the four [34] foundations of mindfulness, of the four right strivings, of the (*four) bases of supernatural power, of the four meditations, of the five mental faculties, of the five powers, of the seven factors of awakening, [35] and of the Noble Eightfold Path—due to the non-cultivation of these wholesome states."

For a monk who [36] lives not engaged in meditation, moreover, this desire may arise thus: "Oh, may (*my) mind may be liberated from the taints without clinging!" But indeed his [37] mind is not liberated from the taints without clinging. "For what reason?" "It must be said, 'due to (*its) non-cultivation'." "Due to the non-cultivation of what?" "Due to the non-cultivation of the wholesome [38] states." "Of which wholesome states?" "Due to the non-cultivation of the (*four) foundations of mindfulness, of the four right strivings, of the four bases of supernatural power, of [39] the four meditations, of the five mental faculties, of the five powers, of the (*seven) factors of awakening, and of the Noble Eightfold Path—due to the non-cultivation of [40] these wholesome states."

[It is] just as if, a hen might have eight, ten, or twelve (*eggs). [And suppose] these [41] eggs were not properly sat upon by this hen day in and day out; were not properly incubated day in and day out; [42] were not properly nurtured day in and day out.

CHAPTER 8
The Ṣaña-sutra

This chapter and the next three present detailed studies of each of the four sūtras preserved in this manuscript. Introductory discussions summarize the content of each sūtra, extant versions of the sūtra and commentaries in other languages. Following the practice adopted in Allon 2001, these prose sūtras are divided into text segments which can be discussed as individual units. Each unit begins with a transliteration of the text as it is preserved in the manuscript, followed by a reconstruction, parallel versions, translation, and commentary. Comments will mainly concern issues relating to the reading, reconstruction, and interpretation of the text. More general comments concerning the content and relations to the parallel versions are discussed in Chapter 2. For details on the orthography, phonology, morphology etc. the reader is referred to the chapters on these topics as well as the word index.

8.1. Introduction

8.1.1. Summary of Contents

The first sūtra on this manuscript contains a description of four perceptions (G *ṣaña*/P *saññā*): perception of foulness (P *asubhasaññā*), perception of death (P *maraṇasaññā*), perception of the repulsiveness of food (P *āhāre paṭikkūlasaññā*), and perception of non-delight in the entire world (P *sabbaloke anabhiratasaññā*).[1] The text has no introduction and ends abruptly after the description of the fourth perception. In the other lists of various types of perception that include the four items found here, *asubhasaññā* is always first (DN III 289, 291; SN V 132–3; AN III 79, 277; IV 46 [×2], 387, 464; V 105, 309). Also, in the reference to this sūtra in the index scrolls (see below § 8.1.3) just these four perceptions are mentioned. These two facts strongly suggest that the sūtra is complete and only lacks the opening setting, which is more likely to have been simply omitted rather than to have been written at the end of another scroll. It should be noted, however, that no enumeration of exactly these four

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[1] I have adopted Bhikkhu Bodhi's English renderings for these technical terms (2000: 1620).

perceptions is known in the Pāli tradition, where lists of perceptions consist of five, seven, nine, or ten members.

8.1.2. Extant Versions

No direct parallel to this sūtra has been found in Pāli or Chinese. However, the topic of the perceptions is well attested in Pāli literature. Different enumerations of the *saññā* are found in the Dīgha-, Saṃyutta-, and Aṅguttara-nikāyas, as well as several paracanonical texts. Some of these include all four perceptions described in this Gāndhārī sūtra, while others include a subset, or even just one item, within lists containing additional perceptions or, in some cases, other items as well.

The closest parallel we find in Pāli to the list found in our Gāndhārī text is a list of five perceptions (*pañca saññā*). This list differs from the Gāndhārī only by the addition of the perception of disadvantages (*ādīnavasaññā*) as the second member. This list occurs just twice, in AN III 79, 277. Other enumerations of perceptions from the canonical texts include seven, nine, and ten members, see table 21 for details.

In a passage from the Milindapañha in which the Buddha's teaching is likened to a city, there is a more extensive listing of perceptions, which the text likens to a flower-shop (*pupphāpaṇa*) in the street of the applications of mindfulness (*satipaṭṭhānavīthika*):

> *aniccasaññā, dukkhasaññā,[2] anattasaññā, <u>asubhasaññā, ādīnavasaññā,</u> pahānasaññā, virāgasaññā, nirodhasaññā, <u>sabbaloke anabhiratisaññā,</u> sabbasaṅkhāresu aniccasaññā, ānāpānassati uddhumātakasaññā, vinīlakasaññā,[3] vipubbakasaññā, vicchiddakasaññā, vikkhāyitakasaññā, vikkhittakasaññā, hatavikkhittakasaññā, lohitakasaññā, puḷavakasaññā, aṭṭhikasaññā, mettāsaññā, karuṇāsaññā, muditāsaññā, upekkhāsaññā, maraṇānussati, kāyagatāsati* (Mil 332.17–25).

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[2] The European edition omits *dukkhasaññā*.

[3] The Prasaṇa-sutra in the EĀ-G (ll. 62–3) mentions four of these perceptions in connection with the definition of 'the effort of protecting' (*aṇorakṣaṇaprasaṇa*): *viṇilaü* (= P *vinīlaka*), *vipuao* (= P *vipubbaka*), *aṭhisaña* (= P *aṭṭhikasaññā*), and *p(*uḍavayasaña)* (= P *puḷavakasaññā*), see Allon 2001: 278.

Table 21. Comparison of Lists of the Perceptions

Four Perceptions	Five Perceptions	Seven Perceptions			Nine Perceptions	
RS 5.1–14[M]	AN III 79, 277	DN III 252, 283; AN IV 147	AN IV 46, 46–7	T 1, no. 12 232c4-6	DN III 289; AN IV 387, 464	T 1, no. 1 56c22-24
aśuasaña	asubhasaññā	aniccasaññā	asubhasaññā	不淨想	asubhasaññā	不淨想
maranasaña	ādīnavasaññā	anattasaññā	maranasaññā	死想	maranasaññā	觀食想
āhāra padikulasaña	maranasaññā	asubhasaññā	āhāre patikūlasaññā	飲食不貪想	āhāre patikūlasaññā	一切世間不可樂想
sarvaloga anaviradasaña	āhāre patikkūlasaññā	ādīnavasaññā	sabbaloke anabhiratasaññā	一切世間不可樂想	sabbaloke anabhiratasaññā	死想
	sabbaloke anabhiratasaññā	pahānasaññā	aniccasaññā	無常想	aniccasaññā	無常想
		virāgasaññā	anicce dukkhasaññā	無常苦想	anicce dukkhasaññā	無常苦想
		nirodhasaññā	anicce dukkhasaññā	苦無邊想	dukkhe anattasaññā	苦無我想
					pahānasaññā	盡想
					virāgasaññā	無欲想

Table 21. Continued

Ten Perceptions

DN III 291, SN V 132–3, AN V 105, 309	AN V 106	AN V 109	D 38, *ka 276b3–4*	T 1, no. 97 920, a19-22
asubhasaññā		*aniccasaññā*	*mi rtag pa'i 'du shes*	不淨想
maranasaññā		*anattasaññā*	*bdag med pa'i 'du shes*	無常想
āhāre patikkūlasaññā		*asubhasaññā*	*mi gtsang ba'i 'du shes*	無常觀於苦想
sabbaloke anabhiratasaññā		*ādīnavasaññā*	*bar du gcod pa'i 'du shes*	苦法中觀無我想
aniccasaññā		*pahānasaññā*	*spong ba'i 'du shes*	厭惡食想
anicce dukkhasaññā	*atthikasaññā*	*virāgasaññā*	*'dod chags dang gral ba'i 'du shes*	一切世間無安樂想
dukkhe anattasaññā	*pulavakasaññā*	*nirodhasaññā*	*'gog pa'i 'du shes*	生光明想
pahānasaññā	*vinilakasaññā*	*sabbaloke anabhiratasaññā*	*'jig rten thams cad la mngon par mi dga' ba'i 'du shes*	觀離欲想
virāgasaññā	*vicchiddakasaññā*	*sabbasankhāresu anicchāsaññā*	*'du byed thams cad mi rtag pa'i 'du shes*	觀滅離想
nirodhasaññā	*uddhumātakasaññā*	*ānāpānassati*	*'byung ba dang rngubs pa rjes su dran pa'i 'du shes*	觀死想

"Perception of impermanence, perception of suffering, perception of not-self, perception of foulness, perception of disadvantages, perception of abandoning, perception of the absence of desire, perception of cessation, perception of non-delight in the entire world, perception of impermanence in all conditioned things, mindfulness of breathing, perception of a bloated [corpse], perception of a livid [corpse], perception of a festering [corpse], perception of a cut up [corpse], perception of a gnawed [corpse], perception of a scattered [corpse], perception of a hacked and scattered [corpse], perception of a bleeding [corpse], perception of a worm-infested [corpse], perception of a skeleton, perception of friendliness, perception of compassion, perception of joy, perception of equanimity, remembrance of death, mindfulness of passing away"

Sill further lists combine the perceptions with other mental practices. The basic set here is an enumeration called 'the nine bases' (*nava padāni*):

samatho, vipassanā, alobho, adoso, amoho, <u>asubhasaññā, dukkhasaññā, aniccasaññā, anattasaññā</u> (Nett 2.24–5).

"Tranquility, insight, non-greed, non-hate, non-delusion; perception of foulness, perception of suffering, perception of impermanence, perception of not-self."

The same list together with its inverse appears in the Peṭakopadesa where it is called 'the eighteen root-bases' (*aṭṭhārasa mūlapadāni*):

avijjā, taṇhā, lobho, doso, moho, subhasaññā, sukhasaññā, niccasaññā, attasaññā, samatho, vipassanā, alobho, adoso, amoho, <u>asubhasaññā</u>, dukkhasaññā, aniccasaññā, anattasaññā (Peṭ 4.1–4).

"Ignorance, craving, greed, hate, delusion; perception of beauty, perception of ease, perception of permanence, perception of self; tranquility, insight; non-greed, non-hate, non-delusion; perception of foulness, perception of suffering, perception of impermanence, perception of not-self."

Some Pāli suttas, namely AN IV 46–7, V 109–112, also provide definitions for terms in these lists, as is the case in our Gāndhārī sūtra. However, among the various definitions, there is only one in Pāli which corresponds well to a definition in the Gāndhārī text. This is an explanation of *asubhasaññā* in the Girimānanda-sutta (AN V 109.18–27). According to Akanuma's catalogue (1929: 335) there is no Chinese parallel to this sūtra, but, he does note a Tibetan translation of this text (Ri'i kun dga' bo'i mdo, D 38 sher phyin – shes rab sna tshogs, ka 276a5–9a2). This Tibetan translation is in fact a late work translated directly from the Pāli, which together with 12 others comprise the thirteen *paritta*. The translators are said to be a Sinhalese monk called Ānandaśrī and a Tibetan, Thar pa lotsava Ñi ma rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po (Skilling 1993: 73), this work can be dated approximately to the first decade of the 14th century (p. 97).[4] Therefore, the Tibetan version cannot be considered as a truly independent witness of this text.

Included in the definition of *asubhasaññā* is a list of thirty-two parts of the body. This enumeration is common in Buddhist literature, with many parallel versions in Pāli, Sanskrit, Chinese, and Tibetan. Details of these parallel lists are given below in the notes to the relevant section of the edition.

The Girimānanda-sutta includes the perception of non-delight in the entire world among the perceptions it describes (AN V 111 3–8), however, the definition is unrelated to the one we find in Gāndhārī. The Visuddhimagga contains definitions for the first three perceptions in our Gāndhārī text, and the discussion of the first one includes a detailed explanation of each of the items in the list of parts of the body (Vism 239–66, Ñāṇamoli 1956: 235–259). Buddhaghosa's analysis of the second and third perceptions, though long and detailed, do not overlap in content with the definitions preserved here (*maraṇasaññā*, Vism 229–39, Ñāṇamoli 1956: 225–235; *āhārepaṭikkūlasaññā,* Vism 341–7, Ñāṇamoli 1956: 337–43).

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[4] Ñi ma rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po is identified as one of the teachers of Bu ston Rin chen grub (1290–1364) in his History of Buddhism (Skilling 1993: 90). These texts were already identified as translations from Pāli by Léon Feer (1883: 143).

With the exception of *maraṇasaññā,* these terms are all found in the *Mahāvyutpatti* (nos. 1155, 7006, 7007). Here, however, the corresponding term for Pāli *asubhasaññā* is Sanskrit *aśubha-bhāvana,* = Tibetan *mi sdug pa bsgom pa'i ming la.*

There are three previous English translations of the Pāli Girimānanda-sutta: Woodward 1936: 74–7; Ñāṇamoli 1972; Ñāṇaponika and Bodhi 1999: 251–4. There is also a translation into French from Tibetan: Feer 1883: 145–50.

8.1.3. Reference in the Index Scrolls

Senior manuscripts 7 and 8 contain summary expressions which refer to many of the sūtras preserved in the collection as a whole. For a discussion on the problems of exactly what these lists represent and the order it gives for the sūtras, see § 1.2.5.2. The reference to the first sūtra on scroll 5 is found in the index on manuscript 8. As mentioned above (§ 8.1.1), the summary expression is a list of the four perceptions defined in this sūtra, "*kaḏara a(*śuaṣañasahaga) [ka]ḏara maraṇa ◊ sañasahaga kaḏara ahara paḍikulasaña ◊ kaḏara savaloga aṇavi ◊ ragaḏasa[m.]*" (RS 8r 3–4, see fig. 8). I refer to this text as the "Ṣaña-sutra," by analogy with the titles of several Pāli suttas which contains lists of these perceptions (e.g., AN III 79).
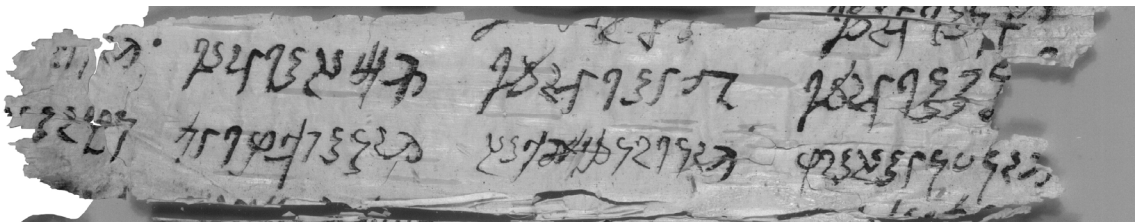
Figure 8. Detail from Robert Senior Kharoṣṭhī Scroll 8, lines 3–4

8.2. Text Commentary

8.2.1. The Perception of Foulness (lines 1–5)

8.2.1.1. Introduction (lines 1–2)

Edition:

[1] *kaḍara aśuaṣañasahagaḍaṣamaṣi iśe bhikhu rukṣa[mul.g.]+ + +[ñ.g.]ragaḍa va abhoaśagaḍa va imam=eva kaya yaṣatiḍ[e]* [2] *yaṣapraṇihiḍ[e] udva paḍatala tvayapayata asa keśa[mast.]+ ++ ++[p.].[k.r.s.] [a]suyiṇ[a p.c.ekṣ.ḍi]*

Reconstruction:

[1] *kaḍara aśua-ṣaña-sahagaḍa-ṣamaṣi iśe bhikhu rukṣa-mul(*a)-g(*aḍa va śu)ñ(*a)g(*a)ra-gaḍa va abhoaśa-gaḍa va imam eva kaya yaṣa-ṭiḍe* [2] *yaṣa-praṇihiḍe udva paḍatala tvaya-payata asa keśa-mast(*aka pura ṇaṇa)-p(*ra)k(*a)r(*a)s(*a) asuyiṇa p(*a)c(*a)ekṣ(*a)ḍi*

Pāli parallel:

katamā c'ānanda asubhasaññā. idha'ānanda bhikkhu imam eva kāyaṃ uddhaṃ pādatalā adho kesamatthakā tacapariyantaṃ pūraṃ nānappakārassa asucino paccavekkhati (AN V 109.18–21)

Tibetan parallel:

kun dga' bo mi gtsang ba'i 'du shes ni dge slong kun dga' bo 'di ni | lus 'di nyid la spyi gtsug nas 'og gi rkang mthil gyi bar gyi | lpags pa'i phyi shun gyi bar gang bar rnam pa sna tshogs pa'i mi gtsang ba so sor brtag par bya'o ||

(D 38 sher phyin – shes rab sna tshogs, ka 277a1)

Translation:

[1] What is the concentration connected with perception of foulness? In regard to this, a monk who is at the root of a tree, or in an empty house, or in an open space, examines this very body, as it is placed, [2] as it is disposed, upwards from the sole of the foot, surrounded by skin, downwards from the tip of the hair, (*full) of impurity of (*various) kinds.

Text notes:

Line 1: *iśe bhikhu rukṣa++++:* There is a horizontal split in the bark which runs through middle of these akṣaras. The reading, however, is not seriously affected until the vertical break in the manuscript, which has obliterated the reading after *rukṣa*. The reading here has been reconstructed on the basis of the repetition of the same phrase in connection with the following perception (ll. 5–6) and the Pāli parallel.

The correspondence of *iśe* with Sanskrit *iha/*Pāli *idha* is well attested (e.g., Zeda inscription, CKI 148.1; ND 1 under-tablet obv. 1). Therefore, despite the unusual phonological situation (*-ś-/-h-/-dh-,* see § 5.2.1.7)*,* the reading and interpretation is secure. For further details on the form see Konow 1929: cxv, Burrow 1937: § 17.

++[g.]ragaḏa: The line continues on the left side of the manuscripts, which is again affected by the vertical break. The reconstruction, based on the Pāli, indicates that seven complete akṣaras have been lost. This is in keeping with the expected size of the break based on the reconstuction of other lines in the manuscript, i.e., about 3 cm.

yaṣaṭiḏ[e]: There is a very small dot of ink above the final letter. This could be a stray mark, but given the similar mark at the end of the next term I think it is more likely to be a reduced form of the *e*-vowel diacritic (Paleography § 4.5.1.4), though either ending (*-a* or *-e*) is possible for the accusative singular masculine (see Morphology § 6.1.1.1.4).

Line 2: *yaṣapraṇihiḏ[e]:* Here also, the final vowel diacritic is just a dot of ink floating above *ḏa,* see note on *yaṣaṭiḏ[e]* above.

tvayapayata: The second *ya* in this word is miswritten and appears to be a correction of an underlying form (see Paleography § 4.7.5). This original form appears to have been the independent vowel *a*. Given that intervocalic *y* is frequently elided (see Phonology § 5.2.1.6), it may be that the scribe mistakenly wrote *tvayapaata* (= Skt. *paryantaṃ*) before realizing that the underlying form should be a geminate, *-ry-* > *-yy-* (Phonology § 5.2.2.6).

++++[r.s.]: Only the very tips of the last two letters of this word remain. These are consistent with the expected reading based on the Pāli parallel, but should be regarded as provisional at best.

[a]suyiṇ[a]: Again, just the upper tip of the first letter survives, however the next three akṣaras all but confirm the reading. The bottom of the *ṇa* is missing such that an *u*-vowel diacritic cannot be ruled out. This however seems unlikely, and I have read accordingly.

[p.c.ekṣ.ḍi]: The lower half of this word is lost due to a horizontal break in the bark. Since the distinctive features of these letters are preserved, the reading can be made with confidence except for slight uncertainty about some vowels.

8.2.1.2. The Parts of the Body (lines 2–4)

Edition:

[2] *? [ḍi] + [.e a.]+ ? [k.yi k.]*[3]*śa loma ṇaga da raya jala tvaya chaḍi aṭi aṭi[mi]+ ++ ++ ++ +++ [hiḍ.]+ [kr]umao priao pa[śpru]ṣa atra atraguṇa guza uḍari* [4] *puriṣa aśu śpeḍa khaḍe śigaṇa pu[ya lohiḍ.] ++ +++ ++ ++ +[s.ḳ]ae masta mastal[ug.]*

Reconstruction:

[2] *? ḍi + .e a.(*ma) ? k(*a)yi k(*e)*[3]*śa loma ṇaga da⟨*ta⟩ raya jala tvaya chaḍi aṭi aṭimi(*ja masa śaru vaka yaḳaṇa) hiḍ(*aa) krumao priao paśpruṣa atra atraguṇa guza uḍari* [4] *puriṣa aśu śpeḍa khaḍe śigaṇa puya lohiḍ(*a pita śileśpa meḍa vasa la)s(*i)ḳae masta mastalug(*a)*

Pāli parallel:

'atthi imasmiṃ kāye kesā lomā nakhā dantā taco maṃsaṃ nhārū aṭṭhī[5] aṭṭhimiñjā vakkaṃ hadayaṃ yakanaṃ kilomakaṃ pihakaṃ papphāsaṃ antaṃ antaguṇaṃ udariyaṃ karīsaṃ pittaṃ semhaṃ pubbo lohitaṃ sedo medo assu vasā kheḷo siṅghāṇikā lasikā muttan'ti. (AN V 109.21–6)

Tibetan parallel:

lus 'di la skra dang | ba spu dang | sen mo dang | so dang | lpags pa'i phyi shun dang | sha dang | chu ba dang | rus pa dang | rkang mar dang | mkhal ma dang | snying dang | mcher pa dang | glo ba dang | sul mang dang | pho ba dang | rgyu ma dang | rgyu

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[5] B^e, C^e, N^e and VRI^e read *aṭṭhi*.

ma'i gnye ma dang | lgang pa dang | rtug pa dang | mkhris pa dang | bad kan dang | tshigs dang | khrag dang | rngul dang | tshil dang | mchi ma dang | zhag dang | mchil ma dang | snabs dang | chu ser dang | gcin dang | (D 38, ka 277a1–3)

Translation:

[2] (*There is in this) body: head hair, [3] body hair, nails, teeth, dust, networks, outer skin, thin skin, bones, bone marrow, (*flesh, sinews, kidney, liver), heart, pleura, spleen, lungs, small intestine, large instestine, anus, bladder, [4] fecal matter, tears, sweat, saliva, mucus, pus, blood, (*bile, phlegm, fat, grease), joint-fluids, head, and brain.

Text notes:

In the following discussion and comments it may be helpful to refer to table 10 comparing lists of the parts of the body in various texts (p. 43).

? [ḍi] + [.e a.]+ ?: The manuscript is damaged at this point due to a horizontal break which has eliminated most of the line of writing. After the end of *pacaekṣaḍi* there are remnants of six or seven akṣaras before the reading becomes a little clearer with *[k](*a)[yi]*. On the basis of the Pāli parallel we would expect the reading to be *asti himaspi,* but the surviving traces do not support this. A couple of alternative introductions are found in Pāli in some cases of the list of body parts. The short form of the list (see above § 8.1.4.2) transitions from *yaṃ ajjhattaṃ paccattaṃ kakkhaḷaṃ kharigataṃ upādinnaṃ* 'what is internal, individual, hard, rough and grasped' at MN I 185.20–1, to the list with *seyyathidaṃ* 'to wit' (cf. *[s](*a)[y](*a)[siḏ](*a)* l. 29). There is an instance of the full list in the *Nettippakarana* which is directly preceeded by a question, *tattha katamo rūpakāyo* 'in that case, what is form-body?' (Nett. 77.26). Neither of these possibilities seems to match the ink remnants found here. The reading given is offered merely as a guide to a possible sequence of akṣaras, but I have not been able to make better sense of this.

[k.yi]: Here the reading is also uncertain, as only the lower portions of these akṣaras remain. It is possible that the surviving traces are remnants of the expected parallel to Pāli *kaye*. However, if this is the case, the final vowel would be *i* rather than one of the usual

locative endings -*e,* -*a,* or -*o* (see Morphology § 6.1.1.2). Due to the uncertainties surrounding the the imediately preceding text, considerable doubt remains over this solution.

Lines 2–3: *[k.]śa:* The first syllable of this word is divided across the line break. The reading of the first consonant is quite secure, but the bark at the top of the letter, and therefore the expected *e*-vowel diacritic, is missing.

Line 3: *ṇaga:* The spelling of *ṇaga* (=Skt./P *nakhā*) shows an unexpected development of OIA *kh > g.* Original intervocalic *kh* is normally reduced to -*h*- in Gāndhārī, *mukha > muha* (Dhp-G^K 268c); it may also remain, as in *sukha > sukhu* (Dhp-G^K 66a). However, there are other examples showing voicing of original -*kh-,* for example: *śegapugala* = Skt. *śaikṣapudgala* (RS 14.20), which was written by the same scribe. There is also an inscription which shows this development: *śega* = Skt. *śaikṣa* (Reliquary Inscription of Azes year 98, CKI 358.B).[6]

*da⟨*ta⟩:* On the basis of the various parallels to this list of the components of the body it is almost certain that the intended reading here was *data* (see table 10). It is likely that scribe omitted the *ta* due to haplography following *da,* since in orthograhy of this scribe, these two letters are indistinguishable (see Orthography § 4.9.2).

raya jala: These two terms have no correspondents in Pāli and its Tibetan translation. They do occur elsewhere in Pāli, for example, *rajo va jallaṃ* (Dhp 141), always with the meaning "dust and (wet) dirt" (PTSD s.v. *rajo* p. 562a),[7] which suits the context of ascetic practice where this term is normally found in Pāli. The corresponding verse in the Udānavarga reads "*rajomalaṃ*" (Uv 33.1), which is identical to the Sanskrit parallel to these two items in the present list, *rajomalaṃ* (Śikṣ 209.8). Edgerton discusses *rajomala* together with *rajojala,* but does not provide a real solution to the problem: "perhaps intended as

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[6] Sadakata wrongly interpreted G *śega* as equivalent to Skt. *śrāvaka* (1996: 310). I am grateful to Richard Salomon for bringing these examples to my attention.

[7] Von Hinüber and Norman provide numerous variant readings in their notes on the Dhp (1994: 40). The authors of the PTSD confess "this expression [*rajo-vajalla*] is difficult to explain" and offer several alternative analyses. These additional complications with the Pāli are not relevant to the present discussion, other than to indicate that this phrase has a long and complex history. There is no Gāndhārī parallel to this passage in Dhp-G^K.

dvandva cpd., *dirt and water*; but perhaps same mg as rajomalaṃ in same vs. . . Divy 339.24, *dirt and impurity.*" (BHSD s.v. *?rajojala* p. 449). In Sanskrit the pairing may well be a dvandva compound, having a perfectly regular first member Sanskrit *rajas* 'impurity, dirt, dust' (MW s.v. p. 863) and a problematic second member *mala/jala*. Edgerton suggests that BHS *jala* might be from *jalla* with loss of *l* for metrical reasons (BHSD s.v. *?jalla* p. 239b). This would then be equal to P *jalla* 'moisture, (wet) dirt', which has been explained as deriving from Sanskrit **jalya* or connected with √*gal* 'to drip' (PTSD s.v. *jalla¹* p. 280a), hence '*wet* dirt', thus forming a sort of complement to *rajas*. On the other hand, *mala* may reflect an attempt to clarify the situation by substituting a more established term for 'dirt' that would also satisfy metrical needs. However, I suggest that 'dust and (wet) dirt' do not fit the context of an anatomical list, and instead derive from anatomical terms which have been lost due to confusions in the transmission of this list.

The occurrence of *mala* in the list of body parts may have resulted from a misinterpretation of *jala,* perhaps under the influence of the Udānavarga, and possibly also in connection with a Gāndhārī version. In the Kharoṣṭhī script, Pāli *jalla* 'moisture' and Sanskrit *jāla* 'net' would both be rendered as *jala*, owing to the usual practice of not indicating vowel length or geminates in this writing system. Since the term *jāla* is a technical term in anatomy, this would seem to be the better interpretation. In the list of the parts of the body, chapter 5 of the *Śārīrasthāna* of the *Suśrutasaṃhita,* the term *jāla* occurs with the technical meaning 'networks' (SuS II ch. 5 v. 5), about which Zysk comments, "It appears, therefore, that the *jālas* are the networks of veins, arteries, nerves, etc., which enclose the various bundles (*kūrcas*) of muscles" (1986: 699 n. 14). Monier-Williams attributes another anatomical meaning to *jāla* in *Bhāvaprakāśa*, i.e., 'omentum,' (MW s.v. *jāla* p. 419–20), but this is doubtless an error.[8]

The ambiguity mentioned above may have led to confusion in the process of transmission or translation. Given that anatomical vocabulary is often quite obscure and that

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[8] The definition provided therein clearly refers to networks: "Networks arise as veins, sinews, flesh, bones; four by four, and all together sixteen," *jālāni tu śirāsnāyumāṃsāsthnām udbhavanti hi | tāni catvāri catvāri sarvāṇyeva ca ṣoḍaśa ‖* (BhP 3.273).

a more obvious interpretation of *jala* might well be familiar to those versed in Buddhist literature since the pairing *rayojalla* occurs in the Dharmapada/ Udānavarga, one can imagine that the wrong term could have been understood this way in at least some instances. That is to say, some interpreters would have taken *jala* to be *jalla,* or under even greater influence from the Udānavarga, may have standardized the term to *mala.*

This very situation is reflected in the two Chinese versions of the list quoted above, which differ over the second item. The Madhyamāgama version has *wǎng* 網[9], that is, Sanskrit *jāla* (BCSD s.v. 網 2839 p. 934a), whereas, the parallel from the Saṃyuktāgama reads *gòu* 垢, identified with Skt. *mala* (BCSD s.v. 垢 663 p. 294a).

Both Chinese versions of the list have *chén* 塵 as the first item, which is cognate with Skt. *rajas* (BCSD s.v.塵 697 p. 301b). Thus, while the basic meaning 'impurity, dust', does not happily fit the context of anatomy, clearly this was the understanding for both Chinese versions. It may be that a more suitable term has also been obscured in this case.

Among anatomical vocabulary *rajju* are 'the large tendons (of the spinal column)' (SuS II ch. 5 v. 5; Zysk 1986: 699 n. 15).[10] However, a correspondence of this word with Gāndhārī *raya* would be problematic. In Gāndhārī intervocalic *-j-* regularly becomes *-y-* or in later works it is often elided (see Brough 1962: § 32; Fussman 1989: 463), but we would expect a geminate *-jj-* to be stable. Indeed, this very word is found in the Niya documents in the expected form *raju* (e.g., ND 264 obv. l. 4), corresponding to Sanskrit, *rajju,* with the usual meaning 'rope'. Once again appealing to the obscurity of anatomical terms and the familiar expression '*rajo va jallaṃ*' from the Dharmapada, it is possible to imagine that our (or some former) Gāndhārī scribe read in Kharoṣṭhī *rajo,*[11] and understood Sanskrit *rajas* rather than

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[9] This reading actually occurs as a variant reading in 宋, 元, and 明 and is not in the main text of the Taishō. However, I regard this as the original reading, see Chapter 2 n. 5 above.

[10] "Four great flesh-ropes are on both sides of the spine; their purpose is binding the flesh and muscles," *pṛṣṭhavaṃśasyobhayatra mahatyo māṃsarajjavaḥ ∣ catasro māṃsapeśīnāṃ bandhanaṃ tatprayojanaṃ ‖* (BhP 3.275).

[11] The role of the final *u* vowel in this hypothesis is not significant due to the general weakening of final vowels, and the consequent instability in their notation (Fussman 1989: 479).

the intended *raj(j)o*. This would be possible because there are a few exceptions to the development *-j- > -y-/Ø*, in which intervocalic *-j-* is retained: *ayujadu* = Pāli *ayojayaṃ* (Dhp-G^K 266b); *[abaji]* = Pāli *abbaje* (EĀ-G 17, see Allon 2001: 81).[12] Thus, the scribe, normalizing to current pronunciation would have written *raya*. In the Niya documents the same mistake could not have been made as 'rope' would have been obvious from the context.

While this explanation is somewhat speculative, I think it quite a reasonable solution to the problem. Thus we may understand the list to include an underlying "tendons and networks," which fits very nicely with the context. However, given that my aim is to translate the text of this manuscript, which clearly does not support this interpretation, I follow the Chinese Madhyamāgama and translate 'dust and networks' and admit the possibility that our scribe may also have misunderstood *jala,* and so could be translated "dust and (wet) dirt."

tvaya: All versions of the list of body parts agree in including this term in this position. The Gāndhārī reading is identical to the form of this word attested in the Dhp-G^K and Dhp-G^L. The only slight complication lies in understanding the Tibetan cognate: *lpags pa'i phyi shun*, where Skt. *tvak* is normally equivalent to simply *lpags pa* (Mvy 4031). Either *phyi shun,* meaning 'outer skin'[13] has been added to specify *lpags pa*, or it may be the result of a copying error or other confusion with *lpags pa'i phyi shun gyi bar* 'within the outer layer of skin' from the beginning section (see above § 8.2, ll. 1–2). At this point the lists begin to diverge, with both Chinese versions including an extra term before *pí* 皮 (= G *tvaya*): Chinese (MĀ) inserts *bófū* 薄膚, which seems to mean 'thin skin', while Chinese (SĀ) inserts term *liúyán* 流涎, 'saliva' (on which, see note on *khaḍe,* below).

chaḍi: The reading of the Gāndhārī here is not in doubt. The parallels all agree in having a term equivalent to P *maṃsa,* so we might expect G **masa*. The actually attested Gāndhārī

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[12] Another example might be found in *bhija* = Sanskrit *bīja* (e.g., *(*dha)[rma]bhija* MS 9Ba.1; *bhija* ND 222 obv. 3), however, Burrow suggested that *j* of *bhija* may have remained due being doubled following a long vowel, a common feature in Prakrit (Burrow 1937 § 17), so would not support the argument here. Note that the sign now transcribed with *ja* (𝈂) was given as *ja* by the editors of the Niya documents.
[13] BGT s.v. *phyi shun* p. 1746b = *phyi logs kyi shun pags*, 外膜，表皮', i.e., 'epidermis, outer skin'.

word is most likely to be somehow connected with Skt. *chavi* 'skin' (MW s.v. *chavi*, p. 405c). PTSD specifies P *chavi* further as "the (outer, thin) skin, tegument". This is explicitly contrasted with Pāli *taca* which refers to the "thick outer skin, as contrasted with chavi" (PTSD s.v. *taca* p. 293a). Perhaps the Tibetan translation *lpags pa'i phyi shun* for the preceding item is rather a misinterpretation of an underlying dvandva compound, *taca-chavi*. This connection becomes all the more significant when we remember that Chinese (MĀ) inserted *bófū* 薄膚 'thin skin' before *pí* 皮 'skin' (= G *tvaya*). The list in the Śatasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra also contains two terms for skin, viz., *tvak carman* (ŚSPP(G) 1430.20, 1431.10).

However, the development *v > d̠* is irregular (Phonology § 5.2.1.6), so there is a problem with equating *chad̠i* with Sanskrit *chavi*. Without resorting to the claim of scribal error, the one possible explanation seems to be that Gāndhārī *chad̠i* represents a conflation based on a form from Sanskrit *chada,* 'a cover, covering' (MW s.v.) and a meaning from Sanskrit *chavi*. In this case Gāndhārī *-d̠-* for Sanskrit *-d-* would be the regular and expected sound change (see Phonology § 5.2.1.4). Some support for this comes from that fact that *chavi* may also be based on a meaning 'to cover' and is connected with Vedic *skuṇā́ti* 'to pluck; to cover' (MW s.v. √*sku*); Greek σκῦτος 'a skin, dressed or tanned leather'; and Latin *obscūrus* 'dark, hidden, covered' (see PTSD s.v. *chavi;* CESD s.v. *chaviḥ*).

aṭi: All the parallels agree here in having a term cognate with P *aṭṭhi*. The Gāndhārī form is slightly unexpected as it does not have the aspirate *ṭh*. This word occurs elsewhere in Gāndhārī with aspiration as *aṭhi* (Dhp-G[K] 284a = Dhp 150). The same spelling is found again in the next compound which suggests that this is not a mistake per se, but rather reflects the dialect and/or orthography of this scribe, for example, G *aṭid̠a* = Skt. *asthitaḥ* (RS 19.21, 27, see also Orthography § 4.9.5). In Chinese (SĀ), the term is *báigǔ* 白骨, which generally refers to the bones of a corpse. Chinese (MĀ) reads simply *gǔ* 骨 'bones'.

The Burmese, Sinhalese, Nālanda, and VRI editions of the Pāli text read *aṭṭhi*, singular, rather than *aṭṭhī,* plural, as given in the PTS and Thai editions. Since the Kharoṣṭhī script

does not indicate vowel length, the distinction is lost in the Gāndhārī, so I have translated with a plural simply because that seems more idiomatic in English.

aṭi[mi]+: The end of this word is lost in the break. The top of the third akṣara is preserved, and it appears to be a cursive form of *mi* made with a single stroke in which the *i*-vowel diactritic is connected to the radical with a loop, rather like a *ga* (see Glass 2000: § 2.25).

All versions of the list agree in having a term meaning 'marrow.' However, the position of this word within the Gāndhārī list is quite different from the Sanskrit and both Chinese versions, where it comes near the end. As in the preceding word the first member of this compound term lacks the expected aspiration. The second member, partly reconstructed, seems to correspond with the Pāli *(aṭṭhi)miñja*. The Śikṣāsamuccaya has *majjan,* which is the normal Sanskrit term for 'marrrow'.

All editions of the Pāli text which were consulted read *aṭṭhimiñjaṃ* here (Bᵉ, Eᵉ, Nᵉ, Sᵉ, VRIᵉ), with the exception of the Sinhalese which has °*miñjā.* However, in the same list in the Dīghanikāya, both PTS and Sinhalese read °*miñjā.* The word is f. according to DP (s.v. *aṭṭhi,* p. 55a) and PTSD (s.v. *aṭṭhi²,* p. 16b), but f. or n. according to CPD (s.v. *aṭṭhimiñjă,* I p. 70b).

(*masa śayu vaka yaḵaṇa): The reconstructions of the previous two lines call for the restoration of seven and nine syllables respectively. The width of the gap in this line is about the same, so a similar number of syllables should be missing here also. However, since none of the lists of body parts exactly match the extant portions of the Gāndhārī version, the reconstruction of this section is quite speculative. It is based on the following three assumptions. First, the items in the list fall into sets of paired terms. Second, the more parallels a terms occurs in, the more likely it is to have been included in the Gāndhārī list. Third, terms should stay in approximately the same order, so that terms missing from the end of the parallel lists are less likely to have been placed in the middle of the Gāndhārī list. On this basis, there are four terms likely to be missing here, Sanskrit *māṃsa, snāyuḥ, vṛkkā, yakṛt* /Pāli *maṃsa, nhāru, vakka, yakana,* which might be reconstructed in Gāndhārī as **masa, *śaru, *vaka, *yaḵaṇa*, a total of ten syllables including the final *(*ja)* of the last term before

the break (see table 10 for details).[14] These terms fulfill all of the criteria above, only Sanksrit *yakṛt* and Chinese (SĀ) *shèn* 腎 'kidney' come a little later in their respective sequences (see table 10). It must be said however, that this reconstruction is merely a guide to what might have been here rather than as a serious assessment of the original reading. Other peculiarities in the Gāndhārī (e.g., *chaḍi, guza*) indicate that this recension was independent of the others. Some further difficulties of textual reconstruction become apparent when one considers the morphological situation: Monier-Williams indicates that *vṛkka* is masculine dual (MW s.v. *vṛkka,* p. 1008), while in Pāli it is neuter (PTSD s.v. *vakka²,* p. 591a). The Pāli parallel has neuter singular (AN 109.23) but the Sanskrit has *vṛkkā* (Śikṣ 209.8), which could be masculine or feminine plural *vṛkkā[ḥ]* (with loss of final *ḥ* by sandhi before *h* in *hṛdayaṃ*), or feminine singular *vṛkkā*. The latter seems more likely as singular would be consistent with other items in the list, whereas if two kidneys were intended we might expect a dual ending in Sanskrit rather than plural, although, of course, in BHS the plural is often used in place of the dual (BHSG § 5.6).

[hiḍ.]+: Only the bottoms of the first two akṣaras survive. This is likely to be the beginning of a term corresponding to Sanskrit *hṛdaya*/Pāli *hadaya,* since this fits with the ink remnants, and all version of the list have a term for heart in approximately this position. The likely Gāndhārī form would have been **hiḍaa,* as intervocalic *ya* is generally elided in the phonology of this scribe (see Phonology § 5.2.1.6). However, there is not much space for the this *a* which, if present, may have been quite small.

krumao: This term must correspond to BHS *klomaka* (BHSD s.v. p. 198a), as all lists agree in having a cognate term in approximately this position. The development *kr- < kl-* is slightly unexpected, but, the Gāndhārī form with postconsonantal *r* is paralleled by *krōma* 'lung' in Kalasha (CDIAL s.v. *klṓman* 3639, p. 188a). Kalasha is a Dardic language from the Southern Chitral District in the Northwest Frontier Province, Pakistan, a region whose

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[14] Alternatively, Skt. *vṛkkā* might be reconstructed as **ruka* or **roka* based on analogy with Skt. *vṛkṣa* = G *rokṣa*, Pāli *rukkha*. However, following Pāli *vakka,* I reconstruct G **vaka*.

languages are more or less related to Gāndhārī. The alternation of *u* and *o*—seen the first syllable—is relatively rare, but attested in Gāndhārī (see Phonology § 5.1.2.6).

While Sanskrit *kloman* denotes the lungs, and the right lung in particular, while Pāli *kilomaka* (BHS *klomaka*) refers to the pleura which envelop the lungs. This has been described in detail by Buddhaghosa (Vism 357.8–19). However, the standard Tibetan rendering *glo ba* (Mvy. 4018), also appears here, which at least according to Jäschke simply means 'the lungs' (Jä s.v. *glo ba* p. 82a).

priao: The various lists are in agreement in having a cognate for Skt. *plīhaka* next to the previous entry, though in Sanskrit their order is reversed. Here too, Gāndhārī has postconsonantal *r* where Sanskrit has *l*. This feature is once again attested in NIA dialects of the northwestern region: Ashkun (Wama dialect) *prō;* Dameli *prâkaṭī́* (CDIAL s.v. *plīhán* 9028 p. 506a), both are languages of the Nuristani family, spoken in Kunar Province, eastern Afghanistan, and Southern Chitral District, Pakistan, respectively. The elision of intervocalic *h* and *k* is normal for this stage of the language (Brough 1962 § 38; Fussman 1989: 464).

The Tibetan list reads *sul mang* rather than *mchin pa,* which is the standard equivalent for *plīhaka* (Mvy 4021).[15] I have not been able to trace *sul mang* in the standard Tibetan lexicons, with the exception that it is defined as '*nang khrol lam nang cha grod pa;* 重瓣胃, 皱褶胃, 皱襞胃' (BGT s.v. *sul mang,* p. 2930b), and rendered "the bowels or the intestines of the abdomen" in the forthcoming English edition of this dictionary (ETED s.v. *sul mang*). However, since this Tibetan version was translated directly from the Pāli, and the items in both lists otherwise match up line for line I think we should understand 'spleen' as the intended meaning of this term.

pa[śpru]ṣa: At this point the manuscript is intact and there are no covering chips obscuring the reading. The problem lies in the interpretation of the second akṣara (𝄐), which resembles a normal *pra* with an additional hook open to the left at the base of the stem. There is also a mark which resembles an *e*-vowel diacritic level with the top of the line of writing, midway between this letter and the following *ṣa*. One might, therefore, think of reading

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[15] The Peking edition has the variant *sul mangs.* I have not been able to trace this form.

pa[pru]ṣe. However, since neuter nominative singular endings in this part of the manuscript are consistently -*a* or -*o* rather than -*e*, and since the only other example of *ṣe* ‹ʹ› (36.6) in this manuscript shows a smaller diacritic placed much higher than the mark seen here, I prefer to think of this mark as belonging to the preceding akṣara. I therefore take it to be part of the left arm of *śpa,* though admittedly it does not appear to be attached to the stem as it is in *śpe* ‹ꞵ› (4.6), and may have been written in secondarily. The hooked foot is also somewhat uncertain, and again appears to have been made separately from the rest of the akṣara. My best guess is that this is intended to be an *u*-vowel diacritic, which is at least etymologically justifiable. It should also be noted that the scribe has re-inked his nib between writing the first and second akṣaras, which suggests that he paused before making this sign (see Paleography § 4.2).

The Pāli parallel lead us to expect a form cognate with P *papphāsa* = Skt. *phupphusa* ‘the lungs’. The Sanskrit and Chinese lists have no parallel for this item. The cognate term in Sanskrit term has a several variant forms: *phusphusa* (Zysk 1986: 698 n. 9); *pupphusa* and *puṣpasa* lexical citations; MW s.v. *pupphusa* p. 634b; *puṣpasa* p. 640c); and *phuṣphasa, phusphuṣa,* and *phusphuṣa* (BHSD s.v. *phuṣphasa* p. 397).[16] If my reading of the Gāndhārī is correct, there are some phonetic peculiarities which need to be explained. The first is the lack of aspiration in the first two syllables. Though *ph-* is a rare akṣara which happens not to occur in this manuscript, it does appear elsewhere in the work of this scribe, for example in *phaṣavihara* (RS 12.32) = P *phāsuvihāro* ‘living at ease’. Therefore, this would not appear to be an orthographic deaspiration, a phenomenon which is seen in one of the British Library fragments where *pala* is always found for Sanskrit *phala* (BL 28 l. 4 and passim). However, as noted above there are attestations, if only from a lexical source, for the Sanskrit forms *pupphusa* and *puṣpasa*. Therefore, this feature of the word may not be a Gāndhārī phenomenon. Second, the *a* rather than *u* in the first syllable is not problematic, as Turner observed that “MIA and NIA show *a, i* or *u* in first two syllables” (CDIAL s.v. *phupphusa*

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[16] The ŚSPP(G) has both *phusphuṣa* (1430.21) and *phuṣphuṣa* (1431.11) within a page of each other.

9090 p. 511, see Phonology § 5.1.2.3). Third, the change in the sibilant from *ṣ* to *ś* is comparable with other alternations in sibilant plus labial groups, such as *śp-/sp-/śv-/sv-/sm-* (for details see Burrow 1937: §49; Allon 2001: 93–4, also Phonology § 5.2.2.4), as a result a phonetic leveling in these combinations in Gāndhārī. Finally, Gāndhārī seems to have an unexpected postconsonantal *r* in the second syllable. While this has no parallel in Sanskrit or Pāli, a number of NIA languages do show this feature, e.g., Sindhī *phiphiṛu,* Panjabi *phipphrā, °phṛā,* Kumauni *phāpro, phep(h)aṛo, phipaṛo,* Bengali *phopar, phōprā,* Hindi *phep(h)ṛā,* Pashto *paṛpus* (CDIAL s.v. *phupphusa* 9090 p. 511). However, none of the examples from the Dardic and Nuristani languages, that is, those languages which are most closely connected with Gāndhārī, show this feature: Tirāhī *pʌpū́s,* Pashai (Aret) *papū́s,* Gawar-Bati *phápuċ,* Bashkarīk *pháphə,* Ashkun *papús,* Kati *pəpyū́s,* Prasun *püb^yüs,* Dameli *phápus* (CDIAL s.v. *phupphusa* 9090 p. 511). Still, I feel that the *-r-* is sufficiently widely attested in the NIA dialects in general to accept, if with some reservation, the proposed reading *pa[śpra]ṣa.*

The gender of this word alternates between masculine and neuter. Monier-Williams identifies *phuphusa* as neuter, while according to the BHSD *phupphusa* is masculine. In Pāli *paphāsa* is neuter.

There also seems to be a problem in the Tibetan at this point. Although the parallelism between the Pāli and Tibetan texts is otherwise very close, here the Tibetan has *pho ba,* 'stomach' (Jä s.v. *pho ba* p. 345–6). The Mahāvyutpatti (9446) gives *sngod rnyeng (snyeng) khyer ba* as the equivalent for *phupphusa,* though this seems to be problematic as Edgerton comments "obscure to me; possibly an instrument for stretching some abdominal organ, as the bladder?. . .; Chin. also obscure; lit. *love instrument* (!)." (BHSG s.v. *phupphusa* p. 396b).

According to Zysk, commenting on *phupphusa* in the *Suśrutasaṃhitā,* "In general it signifies a part of the lungs. . . ., it along with the spleen (*plīhan*) is found on the left side of the body. The comm[entary] to SuS II ch. 4 v. 25 explains that it is known by its own name and that it is not connected with the tubes of the heart" (Zysk 1986: 698 n. 9). Such an interpretation supports taking the preceding item, *priao,* as 'spleen' in this pairing.

atra atraguṇa: All versions of the list have entries cognate with Skt. *antra* 'small intestine' and *antraguṇa* 'large intestine' except Chinese (SĀ) which seems to conflate both with just *cháng* 腸 'intestine'. The two terms are distinguished in Chinese (MĀ): *xiǎocháng* 小腸 'small intestine'; and *dàcháng* 大腸 'large intestine' (T 1 no. 26 556a15). The forms of the Gāndhārī are perfectly regular, although the reading *tr* is ambiguous because this scribe does not differentiate between *tra, ḍa* and *dra* (see Paleography § 4.5.3.3). The Sanskrit parallels all have plural *antrāṇi*, and although Gāndhārī, *atra*, could be plural, I have taken it as singular following Pāli *antaṃ* (see Morphology § 6.1.1).

guza: This term is apparently unique to the Gāndhārī version, and its interpretation is problematic. The second akṣara is distinctive, and cannot be anything other than *za* 𐨩, a rare letter in the Kharoṣṭhī script (see Paleography § 4.5.2.37/Glass 2000: § 2.33). When found in words of Indo-Aryan origin it usually corresponds to OIA *dhy-*, or sometimes intervocalic *-s-* (e.g., *zaṇa* = Skt. *dhyāna,* Senavarma CKI 249.5a, GDP s.v. *zaṇa; maze* = Skt. *māsa,* Māṇikiāla CKI 149.1, GDP s.v. *maze*). While its shape is distinctive in this hand, it can sometimes be confused with *ja* (𐨗) or *ḍa* (𐨙) in the work of other scribes (cf. Glass 2000: § 2.8, 13, 33). Also, in Gāndhārī there is always the possibility of unexpected changes in aspiration/deaspiration or voicing/unvoicing. Further, the vowel *u* may regularly stand for OIA *u, ū, ṛ,* or *o*. With all this in mind, the possible underlying or related OIA forms that fit the context of body parts or associated fluids and impurities include:

- *guḍa* (= P *guḷa*) among other things, can mean 'tumour' (PTSD s.v. p. 253a); it is equated with Sanskrit *gula* in CDIAL s.v. 4181 p. 223b, which is attested in the Sanskrit lexicons with the meanings 'glans penis' and 'clitoris' (MW s.v., p. 360a). Pāli *guḷā* may also mean 'a pimple, pustule' (PTSD s.v., p. 253a).
- *guda* 'an intestine, entrail, rectum, anus' (MW s.v., p. 358c; CDIAL s.v., 4194 p. 224b).
- **gudya* 'entrails' > Tirāhī (Dardic) *guⁱz* 'human excrement' (CDIAL s.v., 4198 p. 224b).

- *guhya* 'to be covered', hence 'pudenda; anus' (MWs.v., p. 360c; CDIAL s.v. 4222 p. 226b; PTSD s.v. *guyha* p. 253a).
- *gūtha* 'feces, ordure' (MW s.v., p. 361a; BHSD s.v., p. 214a; Mvy 4064; CDIAL s.v. 4225 p. 226b; PTSD s.v. *gūtha* p. 253b).
- *goḍa* 'a fleshy navel' (MW s.v., p. 367c).
- *goḍḍa > Prakrit *gŏḍḍa, goḍa* 'foot' (CDIAL s.v. 4272 p. 229b).
- *goda = gorda* 'brain' (CDIAL s.v. 4314 p. 231b).
- *godhā* 'a sinew' (MW s.v., p. 368a).

The forms *guḍa, goḍa,* **goḍḍa,* and Pāli *guḷā* could have lead to Gāndhārī *guza* through a misreading of Kharoṣṭhī *ḍa* as *za*. However, this explanation is weak because in the case of a misreading, one should expect a less common akṣara to be mistaken for a common akṣara, not the other way around.

None of the remaining possibilities can have produced Gāndhārī *guza* in a single phonological development of the sort OIA *gudhya > G *guza,* OIA *gusa > G *guza,* with voicing *s* > *s̠/z*. Therefore one must posit a combination of factors to explain the etymology.

guda, goda seem unlikely candidates as they would require a three stage development *d* > *dh* > *s̠* > *z*.

*gudya assumes aspiration *dy* > *dhy*, followed by *dhy* > *z*. This option is supported by the existence of a Dardic form with z: Tirāhī *guⁱz*. However, given that this is to be derived from a hypothetical form, and *guⁱz* could be connected with other terms (see below), this is also not a strong explanation.

godhā assumes a regular Gāndhārī development *dh* > *s̠* (e.g., G *mas̠ora* = Skt. *madhurā* Khvs-G 17a) followed by *s̠* > *z,* for which there are, as yet, no attested examples in Gāndhārī. Although some authorities (Konow 1929: 166; Burrow 1937: 8; Fussman 1993: 99 n. 68) have suggested that *s̠* is a voiced dental, the occurrence of *z* in a text which also has *s̠* would suggest a difference in pronunciation here (see §§ 4.9.4, 5.2.1.7). Moreover, one would not expect a term for sinews at this point in the list.

Somewhat more likely is *gūtha.* This assumes intervocalic voicing, *-th- > -dh-,* followed by *dh > s̠ > z.* Although phonologically this is somewhat of a stretch, it is supported by another list of parts of the body in the *Śikṣāsamuccaya: keśā romāṇi nakhā yāvan mastakaṃ mastakaluṅgam akṣigūthaṃ karṇagūthaṃ iti* (Śikṣ 210.14). Though here compounded with *akṣi-* and *karṇa-,* that is, 'eye-excrement' = 'sleep' and 'ear-excrement' = 'earwax', this does place *gūtha* in the context of a list of body parts. These terms also occur in the full list of body parts in the *Śatasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra* (ŚSPP(G) 1431.4, 14). Further, Tirāhī *guⁱz* 'human excrement', could in fact related be to this term rather than a hypothetical **gudya.* Turner himself seems to have considered this possibility, as he suggests comparison with *karṇagūtha* (CDIAL s.v. **gudya* 4198, p. 224b). However Morgenstierne doubted this ("but scarcely from **gūthya-*"), though he seems to admit a connection with *guhya,* "Or cf. S[ans]kr[it] *guhya-,* privates, anus?" (Morgenstierne 1933–4: 180).

A derivation of *guza* from *guhya* assumes *hy > ś (> ź) > z.* Similar developments are attested in Dhp-G^K in G *aruśu* < Skt. *āruhya* (v. 119) and G *ḍajamaṇo* < Skt. *dahyamāna* (v. 75). In the second example Brough suggests "*j* is doubtless to be understood as a notation for [ź]" (1962: § 61 p. 105). This development is further supported by Kashmiri *dazun* 'to be burnt' < OIA *dahyate* (CDIAL s.v. **dahyate* 6248, p. 357b), and in derivatives in Nuristani languages of OIA *bāhya* 'external' such as Ashkun *bəzéti* 'cloak' and *bazū* 'black trousers', Kati *bəzî́* 'black jacket', and Prasun *büzû́* 'cloak (?)'. Therefore, a connection to this form is phonologically possible.

Additional support for this interpretation of *guza* may be found in the Chinese (SĀ) list. The thirty-first item in this list is *yìn* 癊, which normally refers to 'a disease of the heart' (MCED s.v. 癊 7445 p. 1115a), or '(blood) traces' (血) 痕 (HYDCD s.v. 癊 vol. 8 p. 351b). While these are at least related to anatomical terms, neither of these meanings fits very well with the context. However, this term may actually mean 'genitals', if we adopt the variant reading, *yīn* 陰 (聖, T 2 no. 99 p. 311 n. 18), which according to Hirakawa can correspond to *guhya* (BCSD s.v. 陰 4011 p. 1214b), and which (like Skt. *guhya*) has the basic meaning 'shady, secret'. It is also used as the first member in various compounds to specify the

genitals, either male or female, though not, at least according to Matthews, the anus (MCED s.v. 陰 7444 p. 1114b).

Finally, one should consider the wider context of the list. The next but one item is *puriṣa*, which means 'excrement' (see below). I consider it unlikely that the list would include two such terms. Further, it appears that the items in this list all fall into a sort of pairing: head hair and body hair; nails and teeth; kidney and liver etc. Since the following item is an organ, 'bladder', rather than a substance (but see below), it seems most reasonable to posit an organ in this case also. On the other hand, if one considers the next item to be the 'contents of the stomach,' we might have a pairing here of 'excrement' and 'crudity' (i.e. 'undigested (or indigestible) matter in the stomach' OED s.v.).

While this item may refer to the sexual organs or to the anus, or perhaps both, it is tempting to render it as 'the hidden part' thus preserving the ambiguity and reflecting the etymological basis of this term. However, given that the next term probably means 'bladder', 'anus' would seem to make a logical pairing. Moreover, since the motivation behind this list is to emphasize the foulness of the body, I feel that 'anus' is nearer to the mark.

uḍari: The Gāndhārī form shows loss of final -*ya* but otherwise directly corresponds to Pāli *udariya* (see Morphology § 6.1.3.2)*.* This term has been understood to be cognate to Sanskrit *udarya,* 'the contents of the stomach' (DP s.v. *udariya,* p. 421a; MW s.v. *udarya,* 184c; Ñāṇamoli and Bodhi 2001: 279), and is defined as such by Buddhaghosa (Vism. 358.27–35). However, it is also understood to be an organ: according to Edgerton, "Pāli udariya, some abdominal organ, said to be the *stomach*" (BHSD s.v. *audarīyaka,* p. 161a); "the stomach" (PTSD s.v. *udariya* p. 134a). The Chinese readings, *wèi* 胃 (MĀ), *dù* 肚 (SĀ), also both mean 'stomach' (MCED s.v. 胃 7075, p. 1051c; s.v. 肚 6496, p. 944c). The Sanskrit parallels read *audarīyaka* (except ŚBh(S) om.), about which Bendall notes: "The meaning is doubtless 'bladder'" (Bendall 1897–1902: 209 n. 3). This conclusion seems to be influenced by Böhtlingk and Roth, *"Wasserbauch"* (PW s.v. *udara* vol. 1 col. 915). Furthermore, in the Tibetan translation of the Pāli, the equivalent term is *lgang pa,* i.e., 'urinary bladder' (Jä s.v. *lgang pa,* p. 113b); this is also the standard equivalent to

audarīyaka (Mvy 4028). All of this lead Edgerton to conclude that it is "a presumably abdominal organ" (BHSD s.v. *audarīyaka,* p. 161a).

Since only the Pāli seems to understand this term as referring to the contents of the stomach, and all of the sources connected with the northern tradition take it as an organ, this interpretation seems mostly likely for the Gāndhārī also. Given that the Chinese, Sanskrit, and Tibetan lists are split as to whether the term refers to the stomach or the bladder, I suggest the latter makes more sense when paired with the preceding term, and so have translated as bladder.

Line 4: *puriṣa:* All versions of the list include cognate terms for Sanskrit *purīṣa*. The parallel list in Chinese (MĀ) reads *tuánfèn* 搏糞 which I take as a compound, 'balls of excrement', on the model of *tuánshā* 搏沙 'balls of sand' (MCED s.v. 搏 6551 p. 956a). Chinese (SĀ) has *shǐ* 屎 'feces'.

aśu: While Gāndhārī *aśu,* is most probably singular (like Pāli *assu*), I have translated with 'tears' as this is more idiomatic in English. On the recto of Senior scroll 24, the same word appears as *aṣuṇi,* with the retroflex sibilant *ṣ* rather than the palatal *ś,* but such an alternation is quite normal for Gāndhārī in situations with underlying OIA *śr-,* compare *śamaṇa* (Shāhbāzgaṛhī Rock Edict 9, CKI 9.19) and *ṣamanena* (Mamāne Ḍherī pedestal inscription, CKI 161.1).

śpeḍa: This term is cognate with Sanskrit *sveda,* Pāli *seda*. Here it shows a normal Gāndhārī development of OIA *sv > śp,* as in, for example Skt. *svakam > G śpagam* (BL 16+25 l. 21, Lenz 2003: 132).

khaḍe: Cognate forms for this term occur in all versions of the list. Gāndhārī shows an unexpected *a* for *e* but is otherwise a normal correspondent for Sanskrit *kheṭa*. This spelling could be due to forgetting to write the vowel diacritic (see Paleography § 4.6.1), but in light of what is probably a second instance of this word (line 8), the *a* in the first syllable would appear to be genuine. I read Chinese (MĀ) *tìtuò* 涕唾 as a compound contrary to the punctuation given in the Taishō, since Hirakawa gives this compounded term as equivalent to Sanskrit *kheṭa* (BCSD s.v. *tì* 涕 2006 p. 727a). Furthermore, I think it is desirable to achieve

a reading of the Chinese list that has 32 items to agree with the standard number of bodily impurities in the Indic tradition. The reading in Chinese (SĀ), *liúyán* 流唌, is a hapax in the Taishō, and seems to mean 'flowing saliva', and may therefore be equivalent to Sanskrit *kheṭa*/Pāli *kheḷa* 'saliva'.

śigaṇa: This term occurs in all versions of the list and corresponds to Sanskrit *siṅghāṇaka*. The Gāndhārī form with initial *ś*- does not follow the expected rule that "the three OIA sibilants are generally preserved in all positions except for changes in certain combinations with other consonants" (Salomon 2000: 86, see also Phonology § 5.2.1.7). However, the history of this word in OIA is complex, with numerous variant spellings recorded in Sanskrit: *śiṃhāṇa, śiṃhāṇaka, śiṅghaṇa, śiṅghāṇa, śṛkhāṇikā, śṛghāṇikā, siṅghāṇaka* (MW s.v. respectively). The spelling *ś[i]ṅghana* is also attested in the Brāhmī manuscript which was found together with the British Library Kharoṣṭhī fragments (BL 6 frag. A l. 2, see Salomon 2000: 39). Among the NIA languages we find Ashkun *ṣīā* 'mucus' and Pashai *ṣī̃* (CDIAL s.v. *śṛkhāṇikā* 12582, p. 730a). There is therefore ample evidence to show that the initial *ś* in this case predates Gāndhārī, and it may have been favored in the northwest. The deaspiration OIA *gh* > G *g* may be phonetic and related to other examples of deaspiration such as *p* > *ph* (*pa[śpru]ṣa* = Skt. *phuphusaṃ*, 3) or *kh* > *g* (*ṇaga* = Skt. *nakhāḥ,* 3), or alternatively it may simply be graphic, as no examples of *gh* have been found in the work of this scribe, which would be the opposite situation to the practice of British Library scribe 2 who writes *gh* but not *g* (see Allon 2001: 4.8.1). The Chinese readings here are *xián* 涎 (MĀ) and *tì* 涕 (SĀ), both of which are identified with Sanskrit *siṅghāṇaka* (BCSD s.v. 涎 2005 p. 727a; 涕 2006 p. 727a).

pu[ya]: There are traces of what must be a smallish *ya* following the *pu*.

[lohid.]: The top portion of the second and third syllables in this word are lost, but the remaining ink is consistent with an expected cognate for Pāli *lohita*. The Sanskrit lists have the synonym *śoṇita* for *lohita*.

(*pita śileśpa meḏa vasa): The reconstruction of this lacuna follows the same assumptions given above, see notes on *(*ṣayu sira vaka yaḵaṇa)* in line 3. The gap here is

slightly larger than the preceding line, due to the convergence of a horizontal split and the vertical break. Four terms are likely to be missing here also, equivalents for Sanskrit *pitta, śleṣman, medas, vasā*/Pāli *pitta, semha, meda, vasā,* which might be reconstructed in Gāndhārī as **pita, *śileśpa, *meḍa, *vasa*. This would give a total of ten syllables when taken together with *(*la)* which is wanting from the beginning of the first term after the break, see next item. As mentioned above, this reconstruction is intended mainly as a guide, however, it is supported by the fact that equivalents for two of these terms (**pita, *vasa*) are found in the latter part of all the parallel lists, while equivalents for the other two (**śileśpa, *meḍa*) are found in all but Chinese Madhyamāgama version (see table 10 for details).

+*[s.]kae:* Remains of three akṣaras are preserved here. Given that there are differences in the items and ordering among the various versions of these lists, we cannot determine for certain which word was intended here. The best guess is that is should be read *(*la)s(*i)kae* and corresponds to Sanskrit *lasīkā* 'joint-fluids' which occurs in the Pāli, Tibetan and Sanskrit lists, but possibly not in the Chinese versions. In addition to the difficulties with the reading, there is also an interpretive problem in accounting for the final independent *e* vowel.

The Pāli and Sanskrit cognates to this term are feminines in *ā-,* which could be nominative singular or plural (in Sanskrit the plural would lose its final *ḥ* due to sandhi with the following *m* in *majjā.* In Pāli the nominative plural feminine is *-ā* or *-āyo*, in (Pischel 1965 §374; Geiger 1994: § 81.3; Hinüber 2001: §336). The orthography of this scribe frequently shows alternation of final *-o/-e*, for example, *uvekṣae* (RS 12.42) = Pāli *upekkhako; dharmapaïao,* °*païae* (Senior 8.1; 13.12, 15) = Sanskrit *dharmaparyāyāḥ*.[17] It is just possible therefore, that the Gāndhārī ending is feminine nominative plural showing the development: *ayo > ao > ae,* but this is admittedly rather speculative. Previously the this form has been seen in Gāndhārī as *-a,* for example, *cikisa* (= Skt. *cikitsāḥ,* Shāhbāzgaṛhī Rock Edict 2, CKI 2.4). No other examples of nominative plural feminine stems in *ā* are found in this manuscript, nor have any been identified elsewhere in the work of this scribe.

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[17] I am grateful to Mark Allon for bringing these examples to my attention.

Another possible explanation could be that here *e* stands for Sanskrit *ca* (see Khvs-G 36b). However, no examples of *e* for *ca* have been noticed so far in the manuscripts written by this scribe. Further, to have *ca* here in the middle of a list would be syntactically odd when it does not occur anywhere else.

Therefore, with some reservation, I understand the final *-e* in Gāndhārī to mark the feminine plural ending *-ae,* and so render as 'joint-fluids'.

masta mastalug(*a): The first of these terms is included in all versions except Pāli. This is the only place where Tibetan differs from the Pāli, having *glad pa = klad pa =* Sanskrit *mastaka* (Jä s.v. *glad pa* p. 80b, Mvy 3935). The Tibetan parallel does not have the expected equivalent for *mastaluga,* namely, *klad rgyas* (Mvy 3936). Chinese (SĀ) also has just one term here *nǎo* 腦, which is either intended to serve for both (cf. 腸 for *atra* and *atraguṇa* above, and see BCSD s.v. 腦 3039 p. 979b), or is analogous to the Tibetan and represents *mastaka* only. Chinese (MĀ) has both terms, but placed much earlier in the list: 21. *nǎo* 腦; 22. *nǎogēn* 腦根. These terms are joined with *jí* 及 'and,' perhaps as a reflection of an underlying dvandva compound which may or may not be the case in Gāndhārī, see Morphology § 6.1.5.

The Gāndhārī spelling without *ka* reflects an attested but less common OIA form of the word (MW s.v. *masta* p. 793c). Cognates for both *masta* and *mastaka* are attested in Pāli and Prakrit (PTSD s.v. *mattha, matthaka* p. 518a; CDIAL s.v. *masta* 9926 p. 571a).

8.2.1.3. Conclusion (lines 4–5)

Edition:

[4] *[ya taṣabhuḏaṣa pu]galaṣa jitaṣa* [5] *ekagraḏa avikṣev. [a]+ [v]ucaḏi aśuaṣañasahagaḏa[ṣ.]++*

Reconstruction:

[4] *ya taṣabhuḏaṣa pugalaṣa jitaṣa* [5] *ekagraḏa avikṣev(*a) a(*ya) vucaḏi aśuaṣañasahagaḏa-ṣ(*amaṣi)*

Pāli parallel:

iti imasmiṃ kāye asubhānupassī viharati. ayaṃ vuccat'ānanda, asubhasaññā. (AN V 109.26–7)

Tibetan parallel:

lus 'di la mi gtsang bar blta bar bya'o. kun dga bo mi gtsang ba 'di rnams bstan par gyis shig. (D 38, ka 277a3–4)

Translation:

[4] It is the undistracted one-pointedness of mind of a person so positioned, which is called "the concentration connected with the perception of foulness."

Text notes:

Line 4: *jitaṣa/citaṣa*: The orthography of this scribe frequently shows alternation between *c* and *j,* suggesting that the two sounds had merged in the dialect of this scribe (see Phonology § 5.2.1.2). Otherwise this form is quite regular.

Line 5: *avikṣev(*a) :* There appears to be a rightward foot at the base of *vi,* so one might think of reading *vri* or *vi.* But these readings are not etymologically justified, as this word corresponds to Pāli *avikkhepa/*Sanskrit *avikṣepa.* Since the manuscript is broken at this point, and the other instance of this word in which the foot is clearly visible does not have such a mark, I suggest that this is in fact the tail of the previous letter, *a*.

*[a](*ya):* There is a hole in the manuscripts at this point. No trace of the expected reading *ya* remains, though it can be reconstructed with some confidence based on the parallel.

s.++: The reconstruction, *s(*amaṣi),* is confirmed by the full name for this perception given at the start of the text (l. 1).

8.2.2. The Perception of Death (lines 5–7)

Edition:

[5] ++*[r.]* *[m.]raṇasañaṣahagaḍaṣamaṣi* *iśe* *bhikhu* *rukṣamu*[6]*lagaḍa* *va* *śuñagaragaḍa va abhoaśagaḍa va iḍa [bha]ḍa + + + + + + [m.]riśami ṇa jira*

jiviśami javiśami mariśami atara[7]*ra̱saïśama ya ta̱sabhu̱da̱sa pugala̱sa jita̱sa e̱kagra̱da a[vi]++ ++ ++[ḏi] maraṇa[sa]ñasahaga̱da̱sama̱si*

Reconstruction:

[5] *(*kaḏa)r(*a) m(*a)raṇa-saña-̱sahaga̱da-̱sama̱si iśe bhikhu rukṣa-mu*[6]*la-gaḏa va śuñ-agara-gaḏa va abhoaśa-gaḏa va iḏa bhaḏa + + + + + + m(*a)riśami ṇa jira jiviśami javiśami mariśami atara*[7]*̱saïśama ya ta̱sa-bhuḏa̱sa pugala̱sa jita̱sa e̱kagra̱da avi(*kṣeva aya vuca)̱di maraṇa-saña-sahaga̱da-̱sama̱si*

Translation:

[5] (*What) is the concentration connected with the perception of death? In regard to this, a monk who is [6] at the root of a tree, or in an empty house, or in an open space, this one … [thinks] "I will die, I will not live long, I will perish, I will die, [7] I will disappear. It is the undistracted one-pointedness of mind of a person so positioned, which is called "the concentration connected with the perception of death."

Text notes:

Line 5: *++[r.]:* A small trace of ink is visible at the very edge of fragment B line 5 level with the bases of the following letters. Since this first word is almost certain to be *kaḏara*, on the basis of the citation in the index scroll (see § 8.1.3) as well as internal parallelism with the other perceptions described here, I read this as part of the expected *ra*.

[m.]raṇasaña̱sahaga̱da̱sama̱si: The first akṣara is lost except for a dot of ink just to the right of *ra,* the second akṣara of this word. The original reading here must have been *ma.* The rest of this compound is unproblematic.

Line 6: *abhoaśaga̱da va iḏa [bha]ḍa:* There is a horizontal split in the manuscript here that divides the tops of *-ga̱da va iḏa bha-* from their lower portion. Once the two parts are reunited, the reading is secure (see fig. 9).

[bha]ḍa///: This meaning of this term is uncertain. The same spelling is recorded on two other occasions in Gāndhārī (GDP s.s. *bhaḍ**): *apa-bha[ḍata]* (= Skt. *alpa-bhāṇḍatā*; Mānsehrā Rock Edict 3, CKI 17.11 [D]), 'the state of having few possessions'; and *sa-bhaḍusa* (Shahdaur, CKI 42.1) which Konow takes to be a personal name, 'together with
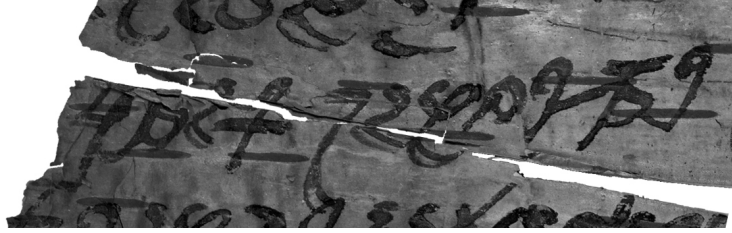
Figure 9. Reconstruction detail, line 6

Bhaḍu' (Konow 1929: 16). Neither of these words can be the intended reading here. From context we expect a verb to indicate that the monk who has gone to the root of a tree, etc., will concentrate in the following way. Unfortunately this term also coincides with the vertical break, and a further 6 or 7 akṣaras are lost. Due to the lack of parallels at this point in the text, I have not been able to offer a reconstruction.

[m.]riśami: The vertical break has claimed half of the first akṣara, which must have been *ma*. Since a vowel diacritic cannot be ruled out, however unexpected this would be, I have read with uncertainty here.

Lines 6–7: *atararaṣaïśama:* The reading here should be *ataraṣaïśama,* with just one *ra.* Here the scribe seems to have repeated this syllable across the line break (see Paleography § 4.7.4). On other occasions he has omitted a syllable at the line break (cf. *bhaviśa⟨*ḍi⟩* l. 16, *v(*i)hara⟨*ḍi⟩* l. 28).

Line 7: *a[vi]++ ++ ++[di]:* The lacuna here can be reconstructed with near certainty on the basis of internal parallelism with the other closing formulas (see § 2.2.1.1).

8.2.3. The Perception of the Repulsiveness of Food (lines 7–9)

Edition:

[7] *kaḍara ahara paḍiku*[8]*laṣañaṣahagaḍaṣamaṣi ahara vujaḍi oḍaṇak[u]ma[ṣa ta bhikh.] +++ ++ ++ ++ +riṣa a ti avimucati khaḍa ti avimucati vata ti avimucati* [9] *aṣuyipuḍipuḍua ti kalamala ti avimucati ya taṣabhuḍaṣa pug[al.]+ +++ ++++ +[vi]kṣeva aya vucaḍi ahara [paḍikulasañasaha]gaḍaṣamaṣi*

Reconstruction:

[7] *kaḏara ahara paḍiku*[8]*la-ṣaña-ṣahagaḏa-ṣamaṣi ahara vujaḏi oḏaṇa-kumaṣa ta*

bhikh(*u +++ ++ ++ ++ pu)riṣa ti avimucati khaḍa ti avimucati vata ti avimucati

[9] *aṣuyi-puḍi-puḍua ti kala-mala ti avimucati ya taṣa-bhuḏaṣa pugal(*aṣa jitaṣa*

ekagraḏa a)vikṣeva aya vucaḏi ahara paḍikula-saña-sahagaḏa-ṣamaṣi

Translation:

[7] What is the [8] concentration connected with the perception of the repulsiveness of food? By 'food' is meant: porridge, sour gruel; This, the monk . . . realizes is 'fecal matter'; he realizes [it is] 'saliva'; he realizes [it is] 'vomit'; [9] he realizes [it is] 'a lump of putrid bodily secretions'—'black filth'. It is the undistracted (*one-pointedness of mind) of a person so positioned, which is called "the concentration connected with the perception of the repulsiveness of food."

Text notes:

Line 7: *kaḏara:* The nib width changes at this point, suggesting that the scribe either recut the nib or used a new pen (see Paleography § 4.1).

Line 8: *ahara vujaḏi oḏaṇakumaṣa:* The account of this perception does not open with the introductory formula of a monk going to meditate which was seen above in the descriptions of the previous two perceptions (see § 2.2.1.1.1). Due to the deterioration of the manuscript immediately following this phrase, it is not clear how this fits with the following context, where food is perceived as one of several bodily impurities. One can say only that it provides a gloss for food, which is central to the topic of this perception.

vujaḏi: This term, parallel to Sanskrit *ucyate* and cognate with Pāli *vuccati* shows an unexpected phonetic development, in which what should be a geminated *c* has become *j* (see Phonology § 5.2.2.5).

oḏaṇak[u]ma[ṣa]: A horizontal break in the manuscript at this point and small pieces of debris lying on top of some of the lettters complicate the reading. However, except for the vowel mark on *k[u]* and the final *[ṣa],* we can be fairly certain of the reading. The sibilant *ṣa*

likely reflects the source dialect of this text since *ṣa* would be the expected form based on Sanskrit *kulmāṣaḥ* (see Phonology § 5.2.1.7).

[ta bhikh.]: The manuscript is badly damaged at this point. A few traces of ink are visible here, but they can only be read with considerable reservation. The lack of a parallel text also hinders the reconstruction. The proposed reading *bhi* would suggest that the tip of the following akṣara might be *[kh](*u)*, which would seem to fit the context here. These ink traces are not consistent with the sequence *ti avimucati,* which is repeated four times in this text.

+*riṣa a:* Three syllables remain after the vertical break, which are probably part of two separate words. Given the occurrence of the term *puriṣa* in the account of the perception of foulness (see above line 4), it is tempting to restore that word here. This would of course be quite unappealing in the context of food, but that seems to be the point! However, if this is the original reading, we would not expect the syllable *a* at the end of the word (*(*pu)riṣaa*). There are various possibilities for understanding this third syllable. The most likely one is that it represents a scribal error, where the scribe wrote the *a* of *avimucati,* at first omitting the *ti* and then realized and so began again with *ti avi°*. If this is the case, the scribe made no attempt to delete or erase the error, and this seems to be consistent with his practice (compare the superfluous *a* in a *a abhaviḏatva* line 39; see also Paleography § 4.7.4), though some scribes do erase extra characters (see Allon 2001: § 4.6). Another possibility is that it represents a pleonastic extension, OIA -*ka*-, from an underlying *puriṣaka (cf. *(*la)s(*i)kae* l. 4, above). Alternatively, in Gāndhārī *a* can correspond to Sanskrit/Pāli *ca,* for example, in *parigrahe ñati a baṃdhava ya* (Khvs-G 6b). Given that the preceeding lacuna is quite large and we cannot be certain of what is missing there, it is conceivable that this instruction included a pair of terms linked with *(c)a*. However, this explanation is less likely because *a* for *ca* has so far not been observed in the work of this scribe.

ti: The enclitic particle *ti/ḏi* (= Skt. *iti*) is written *ti* four times (here, again in the same line following *khaḍa,* and twice in the next line. This contrasts with the other occurrence of this particle where it is written *ḏi* (27; see Phonology § 5.2.1.4).

avimucati: The same verb is repeated four times in this section. It apparently corresponds to OIA *abhi+√muc* 'to let go, let loose' (MW s.v. p. 67b); thus one might translate, "he lets go [thinking] '[it is] fecal matter'. However, this term is not attested in Pāli, so it might rather be that the Gāndhārī term has resulted from an alternation of the verbal prefixes *abhi-* and *adhi-*. There are several examples of this phenomenon in Pāli (CPD s.v. *adhi-* I p. 127a), for example Pāli *adhippāya* = Sanskrit *abhiprāya* (CPD s.v. I p. 135a); Pāli *adhibhavati,* "synon. and interchanging with abhi-bhavati" (CPD s.v. I p. 135b).[18] The same alternation is also noted at the end of this manuscript, compare Gāndhārī *aviśa(*yiḍaṇa)* = Pāli *adhisayitāni* (see text note on *aviśa+++,* Chapter 11 line 41). Therefore, we could understand the Gāndhārī word to be equivalent to Pāli *adhimuccati* 'to conceive, realize' (CPD s.v. *adhimuccati*). Such a meaning seems more likely in the present context. There is a further problem with this term in that the context leads us to expect the word to be singular, however, since intervocalic *-t-* normally becomes *-ḍ-* (see Orthography § 4.9.2) the expected singular ending is *-ḍi,* while elsewhere in the Senior manuscripts *-ti* stands for the plural, for example, *prayaṇati* = Pāli *pajānanti* (see Morphology § 6.3.1).

khaḍa: This could reflect an underlying OIA form *khaṭa* 'phlegm' or *khaḍa* 'buttermilk boiled with acid vegetables and spices'. The first of these may be more likely given that this meditation concentrates on impurities connected with the body. However, there is a problem with this interpretation in that *khaṭa* in this meaning is only attested in the native lexica ('cf. *kapha*' MW s.v. *khaṭa* p. 335a). In Pāli *khaṭa* is attested, but with some uncertainty, DP quotes the lexical meanings given for Sanskrit "phlegm; an axe; a cuff" (sv. *khaṭa*), however, Saddanīti indicates it means 'desire': *khaṭa kaṃse khaṭati khaṭo* (Sadd 353.20), as does the Abhidhānappadīpikāṭīkā: *khaṭa icchāyaṃ* (Bᵉ p. 192). This term is not otherwise attested in

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[18] This phenomenon seems operate at a wider linguistic level as it can been be observed in works entirely remote from Gāndhārī in time and space: "An idea had come to Mr. Baynes as he waited day after day alone in his room at the *Abhirati* Hotel" (Dick 1962: 153 CPD s.v. vol. 1 p. 135a) and a little later in the same work "He jiggled the hook, then dialed speedily the *Adhirati* Hotel" (166). It is interesting too, that the name of the hotel coincides with the fourth perception in this sūtra, *an-abhirata-saññā*. I am grateful to Richard Salomon for bringing these examples to my attention.

the Pāli literature available on CD. On the other hand, the list of parts of the body includes *khaḍe* which appears to be equivalent to Sanskrit *kheṭa*/Pāli *kheḷa* 'saliva' (see text note on *khaḍe* line 4). Therefore, the meaning here should also be saliva, which nicely fits the context of imagining one's food in the process of digestion.

vata: The underlying form of Gāndhārī *vata* is likely to be OIA *vānta* 'vomited'. The Pāli cognate *vanta,* is attested as a noun with the meaning 'vomit' (PTSD s.v. p. 601a).

Line 9: *puḍipuḍua ti kalamala ti avimucati:* Another horizontal break impacts the reading at this point. However, the surviving fragments can put back together in this case, and the reading is fairly secure (see fig. 10).

Figure 10. Reconstruction detail, line 9

The term *aṣuyi-puḍi-puḍua* seems to reflect an underlying form equivalent to Sanskrit *aśuci-pūti-puṭaka*/Pāli *asuci-pūti-puṭaka,* with regular sound changes except for *a > u* in *ḍu* (see Phonology § 5.1.2.3). Such a compound is not found in Pāli, though there are other compounds having *asuci-pūti-* as the first two members, of which, *asucipūtigandhiyoti* (Miln. 74.16) seems significant. In this case *asuci* is not taken in the usual sense, *a-suci* 'impure', but rather in a technical sense, 'secretion(s) of the body' (CPD s.v. *asuci*[2]), hence I. B. Horner's rendering 'evil-smelling bodily secretions' (1963: 100). Since the first three terms in this sequence of things which food is taken to be (feces, phlegm, vomit) are connected with bodily impurities, such an interpretation seems likely here also.

If Gāndhārī *puḍua* is equivalent to Sanskrit/Pāli *puṭaka,* it may refer to a container for food made of leaves (MW s.v. *puṭaka*), hence the whole expression could mean something like, 'a fold [or pocket] of putrid bodily secretions'. Or, better, *puḍua,* may be connected with Sanskrit *piṇḍa* 'lump', more precisely with a complex of words in this semantic range.

Turner lists *peḍa, *peḍha, *peṇḍa, *pentha, *panda, *puḍa, *puṇḍa,* and *podda* as reconstructed forms from which a variety of apparently related MIA and NIA words derive (CDIAL s.v. *peḍa* 8377). Relevant to Gāndhārī, and the present context are terms Turner lists from the Nuristani languages: Ashkun *puṇū́* 'kidneys'; Waigalī *pū̌r* 'spleen, calf of leg', *pūṇī* 'calf of leg' *pū̌rīk, puṇḍrṓk* 'kidney'; Kati *puṇú* 'kidney, calf of leg', *puṇyuk* 'swollen'. Further support connecting the word for 'lump' with a body part comes from Pāli where *peḷa* is explained as a Prakrit form for *piṇḍa* (PTSD s.v. *peḷa,* which quotes Pischel 1965 § 122). This term is found only in the compound *yakapeḷa* 'liver', which is glossed with *yakanapeḷassā ti yakanapiṇḍassa* "[full] of the *peḷa* of the liver' means [full] of the lump of the liver" (Pj II 247.27–8). This quote comes from the commentary to the Vijaya-sutta from the Suttanipāta (Sn vv. 193–206) which also emphasizes the repugnant aspects of the body. Thus the compound seems to mean, 'a lump of putrid bodily secretions'.

The term *kalamala* could reflect a variety of underlying forms in Sanskrit, but there is no attested compound equivalent to this (BHSD, CDIAL, Mvy, MW). The most likely possibility seems to be Skt. *kāla-mala*/Pāli *kāḷa-mala,* which is not attested in Pāli (VRI-CD). A translation of the individual terms suggests the meaning should be something like 'black dirt'. A less likely possibility is that it is connected with Sanskrit *kālamāla,* 'holy basil' *ocimum sanctum* (MW s.v. *kāla* p. 277b). This is a medicinal herb (SuS I ch. 46 v. 221), and so a connection with food is conceivable, however, the negative tone of the preceeding terms suggests that an impure item should be expected here also. A search of the Taishō for *hēigòu* 黑垢 'black dirt' did not produce any relevant results. Given that the verb is not repeated between *aṣuyipuḍipuḍua ti* and *kalamala* contrary to the pattern of the first three items, it may be that this latter term is intended as a gloss on the preceding compound.

ya: This akṣara appears to be a corrected from an originally written *a*. Though it is not certain why the scribe would have written *a* in this case (see Paleography § 4.7.5).

pug[al.]+: This word extends into the vertical break. The distinctive parts of the first two consonants are visible and so can be read with some confidence. The vowel of the second

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akṣara is open to question, but *a* is expected. A short section of the vertical is all that survives of the presumed *la*.

+*[vi]kṣeva:* The first extant syllable here is damaged by the vertical break. The surviving part is consistent with the expected form based on internal parallelism with the other concluding phrases in this sūtra.

[paḍikulasañasaha]gaḍasamaṣi: The name of this perception is badly damaged by a hole caused by a horizontal break in the manuscript. But the clear parallelism with the beginning of this section (l. 7) makes the reading secure.

8.2.4. The Perception of Non-Delight in the Entire World (lines 10–14^M)

8.2.4.1. Seeing a Non-Village etc. (lines 10–11)

Edition:

[10] +*[ḍ.r.] sarvaloga a[ṇavi]rasañasahagaḍasamaṣi iśe bhikhu gama [v]+ ++ +++ ++[ḍi] +[g.]ra va drispa aṇagara paśaḍi [ja]ṇavaḍa va drispa ajaṇavaḍa paśaḍi* [11] *ukaṭaḍi parikasaḍi ṇa ramaḍi ṇa aviramaḍi so [to cito dameḍi] paridame[ḍi] ++ ++ḍi kamaṇio*

Reconstruction:

[10] *(*ka)ḍ(*a)r(*a) sarva-loga aṇavira⟨*ḍa⟩-saña-sahagaḍa-samaṣi iśe bhikhu gama v(*a drispa agama paśa)ḍi (*ṇa)g(*a)ra va drispa aṇagara paśaḍi jaṇavaḍa va drispa ajaṇavaḍa paśaḍi* [11] *ukaṭaḍi parikasaḍi ṇa ramaḍi ṇa aviramaḍi so to cito dameḍi paridameḍi (*rmaḍo karo)ḍi kamaṇio*

Translation:

[10] What is the concentration connected with the perception of non-delight in the entire world? In regard to this, a monk (*upon seeing) a village sees (*a non-village); or upon seeing a town sees a non-town; upon seeing a district sees a non-district. [11] He is dissatisfied. He reflects. He does not take pleasure. He does not delight. He tames and controls [his] mind [with regard to] that, and makes it (*pliant) and workable.

Text notes:

Line 10: +*[d.r.]:* Only the feet of the last two akṣaras of the word survive. Internal parallelism with the openings of the previous definitions strongly suggests that the reading should be *kaḍara.*

sarvaloga a[ṇavi]rasañasahagaḍasamaṣi: The beginning of this sequence is damaged due to fragmentation of the manuscript. This term occurs three times in the work of this scribe: here, at the end of this section, and again in the reference to this sūtra in Senior scroll 8 (see § 8.1.3 above). The reading in this case can be confirmed by these internal parallels. In Senior 8 the reading is *savaloga aṇavi ◊ ragaḍasa[m.]* (8.3–4, see 9), probably written in error for the intended *savaloga aṇavira⟨*ḍasañasaha⟩gaḍasa[m](*aṣi);* compare *aśuaṣaña-sahagaḍas(*amaṣi)* (l. 5).

gama: This term is cognate with Sanskrit *grāma,* and Pāli *gāma,* but shows loss of postconsonantal *r* contrary to the normal pattern of Gāndhārī (see Phonology § 5.2.2.5; e.g., *grama* Avaca Casket II, CKI 243.2a). However, the form without *r* is common in translation literature (e.g., *gamu* Dhp-G[K] 294c; *gamo* BL16+25 47). This situation is likely to reflect the source dialect of these texts which must certainly have been a dialect of MIA that did not preserve clusters in initial position.

[v.]: A trace of ink at the edge of this fragment before the vertical break is all that survives of this akṣara. The pointed shape at the upper right is consistent with the expected *va,* based on internal parallelism.

++*[di]:* Fragment D71 can be restored at this point. It contains the distinctive base of *ḍ-* and the merest trace of the lower left end of the *i* vowel at the very edge of fragment. This conforms with the expected *paśaḍi,* based on the pattern in this section of the text.

+*[g.]ra:* The first akṣara of this word is missing. Again, based on repetition and the occurrence of a near parallel expression in Pāli, we can confidently restore a missing *ṇa.*

[ja]ṇavaḍa: The reading here is not in doubt, although the right side of the head of the first akṣara is unusually extended (see Paleography § 4.5.2.10).

8.2.4.2. A Delightful Park etc. (lines 11–13)

Edition:

[11] *so te cito damita paridamita rmaḏo karita kamaṇio* [12] *asa avareṇa samaeṇa aramaramaṇea va drispa vaṇaramaṇea va drispa pukharaṇarama[e]+ + ++ +++[ma]ṇea va drispa bhumiramaṇea va drispa [pra]vaḏaramaṇea va drispa ukaṭaḏi* [13] *parikaṣaḏi ṇa ramaḏi ṇa aviramaḏi ṣo te cite dameḏi paridame[ḏi rmaḏ.]* +++ ++++

Reconstruction:

[11] *so te cito damita paridamita rmaḏo karita kamaṇio* [12] *asa avareṇa samaeṇa arama-ramaṇea va drispa vaṇa-ramaṇea va drispa pukharaṇa-rama(*ṇ)e(*a va drispa ṇaḏi-ra)maṇea va drispa bhumi-ramaṇea va drispa pravaḏa-ramaṇea va drispa ukaṭaḏi* [13] *parikaṣaḏi ṇa ramaḏi ṇa aviramaḏi ṣo te cite dameḏi paridameḏi rmaḏ(*o karoḏi kamaṇio)*

Translation:

[11] Having tamed and controlled his mind [with regard to] that, and made it pliant and workable, [12] then, some time later, when he has seen a delightful park, or a delightful grove, or a delightful lotus pool, or a delightful (*river), or delightful grounds, or a delightful mountain, he is dissatisfied. [13] He reflects. He does not enjoy. He does not delight. He tames and controls [his] mind [with regard to] that, and (*makes it) pliant and (*workable).

Text notes:

Line 11: *so [to cito dameḏi]:* A horizontal break in the manuscripts bisects this sequence. When the two halves are restored, the reading is clear (see fig. 11).
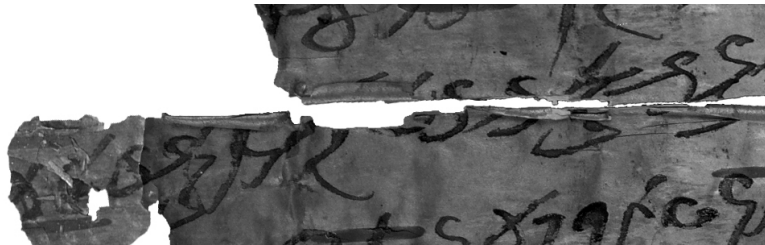
Figure 11. Reconstruction detail, line 11

paridame[di]: The second half of this term is preserved on fragment D75.

++di: Only the last akṣara of the expected *karodi* survives following the vertical break on fragment D71.

rmado: The first akṣara of this word is a special ligature which is transliterated with the conventional value *rma,* but in this case the syllable derives from OIA *mṛ;* for an explanation see Paleography § 4.5.3.2. The final *o* diacritic in this word overlaps with the following *ka,* so that it is not immediately noticeable.

Line 12: *arama-ramaṇea:* This compound is equivalent to Pāli *ārāma-rāmaṇeyyakaṃ,* which occurs in the Dīgha-nikāya where it is glossed by the commentary as "*rāmaṇeyyakan ti ramaṇīyabhāvaṃ*" (Sv II.810), that is, '*rāmaṇeyyaka* is the condition of being pleasing'. As such, it is a little awkward to translate, literally, "a park [kind of] pleasing thing." I have rendered the term as "a delightful park", which reverses the syntax of the compound but is more natural in English. So also for the other terms in this sequence, mutatis mutandis.

pukharaṇarama[.e]+: The end of this word is damaged due to the vertical break. The *e* vowel diacritic of the penultimate akṣara is visible, but all trace of the base *ṇ-* is lost.

+++[ma]ṇea: The end of this term follows the vertical break. The pattern in this part of the text strongly suggests that the syllable *ra* would have preceded, and before that we expect a natural feature connected with pleasurable sensations, such as a river. The term *ṇadi* has been supplied in the reconstruction on the model of a similar sequence in the Milindapañha; see § 2.2.1.4.

pravaḍa: The Gāndhārī term *pravaḍa* could be cognate with three different Sanskrit terms for natural features: *parvata* 'mountain'; *prapāta* 'precipice'; or *pravāta* 'a windy place'. Since the Pāli parallel reads *pabbata* (= Skt. *parvata*), we should probably understand this to be 'mountain' and assume the common Gāndhārī metathesis *par- > pra-* (cf. *parvayiḍasa,* § 10.1.3).

Line 13: *paridame[di rmaḍ.]:* The uncertain part of this reading is due to damage at the vertical break, which has claimed the bottoms of three akṣaras. Strong internal parallelism confirms the reading.

8.2.4.3. Conclusion (lines 13–14[M])

Edition:

[13] + + cit[o] damita paradamita rma<u>d</u>o karita kama<u>n</u>io asa avare<u>n</u>a <u>s</u>amae<u>n</u>a [14] i<u>d</u>i udva a<u>s</u>o ti<u>d</u>a sarva<u>d</u>o sarva<u>d</u>atavi uka<u>t</u>a<u>d</u>i parika<u>s</u>ati <u>n</u>a [r.]++ + +++++ + [t.]<u>s</u>abhu<u>d</u>a<u>s</u>a puga<u>l</u>a<u>s</u>a cita<u>s</u>a ekagra<u>d</u>a avik<u>s</u>eva aya vuca<u>d</u>i sarva[14[M]]loge a<u>n</u>.+[ra]<u>d</u>asaña[<u>s</u>ahaga<u>d</u>i]<u>s</u>ama<u>s</u>i

Reconstruction:

[13] (*so te) cito damita paradamita rma<u>d</u>o karita kama<u>n</u>io asa avare<u>n</u>a <u>s</u>amae<u>n</u>a [14] i<u>d</u>i udva a<u>s</u>o ti<u>d</u>a sarva<u>d</u>o sarva<u>d</u>atavi uka<u>t</u>a<u>d</u>i parika<u>s</u>ati <u>n</u>a r(*ama<u>d</u>i <u>n</u>a aviramа<u>d</u>i ya) t(*a)<u>s</u>a-bhu<u>d</u>a<u>s</u>a puga<u>l</u>a<u>s</u>a cita<u>s</u>a ekagra<u>d</u>a avik<u>s</u>eva aya vuca<u>d</u>i sarva[14[M]]loge a<u>n</u>(*avi)ra<u>d</u>a-saña-<u>s</u>ahaga<u>d</u>i-<u>s</u>ama<u>s</u>i

Translation:

[13] Having tamed and controlled his mind [with regard to] (*that), and made it pliant and workable, then, some time later, [14] thus above, below, across, in every direction, everywhere . . . he is dissatisfied. He reflects. He (*does not enjoy. He does not delight). It is the undistracted one-pointedness of mind of a person so positioned, which is called [14[M]] "the concentration connected with the perception of non-delight in the entire world."

Text notes:

Line 13: *cit[o]:* The vowel diacritic of *to* aligns perfectly with the end of the *i* diacritic of *ci,* so that one could think of reading **citi*. Repetition of this phrase elsewhere, however, shows that we must read *cito*.

paradamita: The scribe has omitted the expected *i*-vowel diacrtic in the second syllable (see Paleography § 4.6.1).

karita: The ak<u>s</u>aras of this word overlap each other rather more than usual, but the reading is clear enough; see remarks on letter spacing, Paleography § 4.3.

<u>s</u>amae<u>n</u>a: The scribe ran out of space while writing this word, and rather than continuing on the next line, as is his usual practice, he wrote <u>n</u>a above *e*. This maybe be due to that fact that a <u>n</u>a separated from the rest of the word could be misconstrued as a negative particle.

Line 14: *aṣo:* The first letter of this word is miswritten and appears to be a correction of an original *ra*. If this is the correct explanation, it is not clear what would have caused the scribe to write *ra* here first (see Paleography § 4.7.5).

sarvatratavi: There is some difficulty in the interpretation of this word. The akṣara *ta* has been added as a superlinear correction written above and to the left of *tra*. This might be a replacement for *tra* if it is rather to be read as *ḍa* (see Paleography § 4.5.3.3), which may have been written in error (this scribe does not erase his errors, see Paleography § 4.7). The intended reading might therefore be *sarvatavi,* cognate with Sanskrit *sarvatrāpi* 'reaching everywhere' (MW s.v.). However, this does not seem likely since in this text OIA *tra* is preserved in all cases, e.g., *patra* (= Skt. *patra,* l. 18, see Phonology § 5.2.2.5). Another possibility is that the correction marks an insertion, so that the reading *sarvatratavi* corresponds to BHS *sarvatratāye*/ Pāli *sabbattatāya* 'in every way' (BHSD/PTSD s.v.). This view finds support since the phrase overlaps with a common expression in Pāli which is used to extend a given practice spatially, *iti uddham adho tīriyaṃ sabbādhi sabbattatāya* 'thus above, below, across, and everywhere, in every way' (SN V 115.29–30). However, Gāndhārī *vi* cannot formally correspond to BHS *ye*/Pāli *ya,* so we can only assume that some confusion has occurred here, perhaps conflating forms equilvalent to BHS *sarvatratāye* and Sanskrit *sarvatrāpi*. The clear fact that there is a correction here makes a solution along these lines, likely, though the precise details are somewhat tentative.

[r.]++: The right side of *ra* is all that remains of the expected *ramaḍi.*

[t.]ṣabhuḍaṣa: Only the foot of *ta* remains at the beginning of this word, but internal parallelism with the other closing formulas allows us to present this reading with confidence.

pugalaṣa: There is a horizontal stroke of ink through the top of the stem of *pu*. The status of this stroke is uncertain. Most likely it indicates a copying error in which our scribe read *bh-* for *p-*. Another possibility is that it is some stray ink due to careless penmanship. I do not think it has any phonetic significance parallel to the use of a superscript stroke with other akṣaras in the Kharoṣṭhī script, e.g., *ja* 𐨗 (See Glass 2000: §§ 2.8.1, 4.2).

ekagraḏa avikṣeva: The feet of *-ḏa avi-* are partly preserved on a small chip (v) that has flipped over to the verso, covering part of the stem of *s̱e* in line 36.

Line 14ᴹ: This line has been written vertically in the right margin beginning from the level of line 4 and extending down to line 9. On the significance of this placement, see Paleography § 4.2 above.

loge: The vowel diacritic is small and overlaps with the right loop of the *g,* so that it is not immediately noticeable.

aṇ.+[ra]ḏasaña[s̱ahagaḏi]s̱amas̱i: The reading here is damaged due to deterioration along the right edge of the scroll. The occurrences of this term at the beginning of the section and in the index scroll (see RS 8.4) permit us to restore the reading with confidence.

CHAPTER 9
The Natuspahu-sutra

9.1. Introduction

9.1.1. Summary of Contents

The second sūtra on this manuscript is a Gāndhārī text parallel to the Pāli Natumhāka-sutta. This short sūtra preserves a teaching on the five aggregates (*skandhas*), recommending that one not think of them as one's own, hence the sūtra's title "Not Yours" (*natumhāka*). The sūtra contains a simile comparing the aggregates to the grass, sticks, branches, leaves, and foliage in the Jeta grove, which one can readily acknowledge as not belonging to the self. Following the simile there is a restatement of the teaching of this sūtra. As is common among sūtras of the Saṃyuktāgama/Saṃyutta-nikāya, the setting, or nidāna formula is much abbreviated. The sūtra ends with a simple closing statement *iḏam eyi bhayava* 'This is what the Lord said'.

9.1.2. Extant Versions

This sūtra has direct parallels in Pāli and Chinese. A very small portion of the simile survives in a Sanskrit fragment from Turfan. Quotations and paraphrases of this sūtra and its simile are found in other texts preserved in Sanskrit and Tibetan. Commentaries on this sūtra are extant in Pāli, Chinese, and Tibetan.

The text was first identified as a Gāndhārī version parallel to the Pāli Natumhāka-sutta (SN III 33–4) by Richard Salomon (2003: 79). The Natumhāka-sutta is the first sutta of the Natumhākavagga, and constitutes sutta 33 in the Mūlapaṇṇāsa of the Khandhasaṃyutta, which is part 1 of the Khandhavagga of the Saṃyutta-nikāya.

There is general agreement among the printed editions of the Pāli canon on the title of this sūtra, which one can assume is derived from the uddāna to this vagga: *natumhākena dve vuttā* (SN III 42.1). This vagga contains ten suttas which fall into five sets of paired suttas. Each set shares the same name, the second sutta with the same name differing only slightly from the first. In the case of the Natumhāka, the second version simply omits the simile. This

repetition of titles is reflected in two of the editions, the European edition calls it *natumhāka* (1) (SN III 42), while the Sinhalese has *paṭhama natumhāka suttaṃ* ([C^e] III 60). Other editions refer to the first as: *natumhākasutta* ([B^e] III 28), *natumhākasuttaṃ* ([N^e] III 267), or *natumhākaṃ suttaṃ* ([VRI^e] III 31). These editions prefix the title of the second version with *dutiya*. The Khmer and Thai editions do not provide titles, but in both, the uddāna matches the other editions (Kh^e 33 95.9, S^e III 52.18).

In addition to the second Natumhāka-sutta which immediately follows the first (SN III 34), several closely related or identical suttas and passages exist elsewhere in the Pāli Canon: Natumhāka 1 and 2 (SN IV 81–2); Palāsinā 1 and 2 (SN IV 128–9); part of the Alagaddupama-sutta (MN I 140.33–141.19); and Mahāniddesa (I 438.5–25). Again, the first and second Natumhāka-suttas in SN IV differ only by the inclusion or omission of the Jeta grove simile. In the second Palāsinā-sutta, the simile is abbreviated and its expansion is indicated (in the European edition) by "*la*" (SN IV 129 l. 24). In the VRI edition the Palāsinā-sutta is called *Natumhāka* and the uddāna reference corresponds (VRI^e II 135).[1] This variant is noted by the Sinhalese edition (C^e IV 265 n. 3).

The Sāratthappakāsinī contains a commentary on this sutta (Spk II 265). There is also a ṭīkā on this commentary. The VRI editions of both the Spk and Spk-ṭ commentaries on this sūtra have the title *Natumhākasuttavaṇṇanā* ([VRI^e] II 234. Spk-ṭ [VRI^e] II 192). The European edition of Spk does not give a title.

A version of this sūtra is preserved in the Chinese translation of the Saṃyuktāgama, the Zá āhán jīng 雜阿含經, attributed to Guṇabhadra between 435–6 A.D.[2] (T 2 no. 99 [sūtra 269] p. 70b1–c1). This sūtra has been identified as the parallel to the Natumhāka-sutta by the editors of the Taishō (T 2 p. 70 n. 4). In fact, however, only the first part (70b1–12) of this translation is parallel to the Pāli, while the rest (70b12–c1) appears to be a separate teaching which analyzes impermanence, suffering, and non-self in terms of the five aggregates.

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[1] Since the VRI edition is based on the Burmese edition, this should also be true of that version, but I have not had the opportunity to check this.

[2] On the attribution and date of this translation see section § 1.3.1 above, also Enomoto 2001: 31–2.

Though no title is given in the sūtra itself, the corresponding entry found in the uddāna for this chapter has been used as a title in some modern works (Akanuma 1929: 206; Lancaster 1979: 237). For convenience this will also be used as a title in the present work. Thus we may call the Chinese translation of the sūtra *Qílín* 祇林, 'Jeta grove.' A similar sūtra is found in chapter 11 (T 2 no. 99 [sūtra 274] p. 73a2–21). This has been identified as the parallel to the Palāsinā-sutta by Akanuma (1929: 225). The uddāna for this chapter is not found in the Taishō edition. Akanuma gives the title as *Qìshě* 棄捨 'Abandoning.' Neither of these sūtras have parallels in the two other translations of the SĀ (T 2 nos. 100 and 101).

There is another sutta in Pāli called *Na tumhā* (SN II 64–5). This discourse uses the statement 'This body is not yours' "*nāyam … kāyo tumhākam*" as a pretext for a teaching on dependent origination. It is otherwise unconnected with our sūtra. The Chinese translation of this sūtra is called *fēi rǔ suǒyǒu* 非汝所有 'What does not belong to you' (T 2 no. 99 [sūtra 295] p. 84a23–b11).

No direct parallel to the Natumhāka-sutta has been found among the Sanskrit fragments in the Turfan or Schøyen collections. However, a small fragment containing just a few words from a sūtra equivalent to the Pāli Palāsinā-sutta is preserved among the Turfan fragments (SHT VI 1226 1 R). Yaśomitra has quoted a line from this sūtra in his commentary to the Abhidharmakośabhāṣya (AKV 48.2–5). The text has been cited in full by Śamathadeva in his Abhidharmakośaṭīkopāyikanāma, which is now only extant in Tibetan (D 4094, *mngon pa, ju* 21b5–22a6). The colophon to this work attributes the translation to Jayaśrī and Shes rab 'od zer, who probably worked in Śrīnagar during the 11th century.[3]

The Yogācārabhūmi contains a commentary on the Saṃyuktāgama called Vastu-saṃgrahaṇī which includes an explanation of the present sūtra. This portion of the text, now lost in Sanskrit, is preserved in Chinese (T 30 no. 1579 p. 783a3–23) and Tibetan translations (D 4039, *sems tsam, zi* 150a6–b6).

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[3] I am grateful to Peter Skilling for bringing this and other parallels to my attention. Details concerning the author of this work and the circumstances of its translation into Tibetan are uncertain. The few details presented here, I have learned from Peter Skilling (personal communication). See also Honjyō 1988.

A fragment from the Schøyen collection preserves the Sanskrit of a similar teaching from the Saḷāyatanavibhaṅga-sutta (MS 2375/17, cf. MN 137).

There are three previous English translations of this sūtra, all from the Pāli: Woodward 1925: 31–2; Myanmar Pitaka Association 1996: 77–8; and Bodhi 2000: 877.

9.1.3. Reference in the Index Scrolls

Senior manuscript 7 contains summary expressions which reference many of the sūtras preserved in the collection as a whole, see § 1.2.5.2. Rather than quoting the presumed name of the sūtra, or at least the expression preserved in the uddāna of the SN, the reference to the present sūtra gives a fuller quotation from the middle of the discourse: *1 ta ki mañaṣi ◊ bhikṣave yo himaṣa ◊ jeḏavaṇe śahakaṭhapalaśap. [ṇ .i/.e]* (7r 16; fig. 12). It may or may not be significant that the uddāna preserved in the Chinese translation, *Qílín* 祇林 'Jeta grove' (T 2 no. 99 [sūtra 269] p. 70b1–c1), refers to this sūtra by the location used in the simile (§ 9.1.2), which is partially similar to the citation here.

Figure 12. Detail from Robert Senior Kharoṣṭhī Scroll 7, line 16

However, rather than adopting this somewhat cumbersome expression as the title of the Gāndhārī sūtra, I shall, as a matter of convenience, refer to it as the "Natuspahu-sutra" by analogy with the accepted title of the Pāli version.

9.2. Text Commentary

9.2.1. The Setting (line 15)

Edition:

[15] *śava[st]iṇiḏaṇe*

Reconstruction:

[15] *śavasti-ṇiḏaṇe*

Pāli parallel:

sāvatthinidānaṃ (SN III 33.20)

Chinese parallel:

如是我聞一時。佛住舍衛國祇樹給孤獨園爾時。世尊告諸比丘。 (T 2 no. 99 70b1–2)

Translation:

[15] The setting is in Śavasti.

Text notes:

Line 15: *śava[st]i:* The cross bar of *[st]i* is either too faint to see, or has been omitted altogether, so that the akṣara looks like a *vi.* But, the intended reading is not in doubt.

The writing in this line is smaller than the surrounding text, having been written with a finer nib (0.9 mm, see Paleography § 4.1). It appears to have been written in advance of the main content of the sūtras on this scroll (see Paleography § 4.2).

9.2.2. "What is Not Yours," 1 (lines 16–7)

Edition:

[16] *ya bhikṣave ṇa tuspahu ta pracajaaṣa ta prahiṇa hiḏae suhae bha[vi]++ ++ + ++[u r]uo ṇa tuspahu ta pajaaṣa ta prahiṇa hiḏae suhae bhaviśa* [17] *vedaṇe saña sakhara viñaṇa ṇa tuspahu ta pacaaṣa ta +++ [i]ḏae [su]hae bhaviśaḏi*

Reconstruction:

[16] *ya bhikṣave ṇa tuspahu ta pracajaaṣa ta prahiṇa hiḏae suhae bhavi(*śaḏi kica ṇa tuspah)u ruo ṇa tuspahu ta pajaaṣa ta prahiṇa hiḏae suhae bhaviś⟨*ḏi⟩* [17] *vedaṇe saña sakhara viñaṇa ṇa tuspahu ta pacaaṣa ta (*prahiṇa h)iḏae suhae bhaviśaḏi*

Pāli parallel:

yam bhikkhave na tumhākaṃ tam pajahatha. taṃ vo pahīnaṃ hitāya sukhāya bhavissati. kiñca bhikkhave na tumhākam. rūpam bhikkhave na tumhākaṃ tam pajahatha. taṃ vo pahīnaṃ hitāya sukhāya bhavissati. vedanā na tumhākaṃ taṃ pajahatha. sā vo pahīnā hitāya sukhāya bhavissati. saññā. pe. saṅkhārā na tumhākaṃ

te pajahatha. te vo pahīnā hitāya sukhāya bhavissanti. viññāṇaṃ na tumhākaṃ tam pajahatha. taṃ vo pahīnaṃ hitāya sukhāya bhavissati. (SN III 33.21–34.4)

Chinese parallel:

非汝所應法。當盡捨離。捨彼法已。長夜安樂。何等法非汝所應。當速捨離。如是色．受．想．行．識。非汝所應。當盡捨離。斷彼法已。長夜安樂。 (T 2 no. 99 70b2–5)

Tibetan parallel:

dge slong gang khyod ma yin pa'i chos de khyod kyis spang bar bya'o ‖ don te khyod kyis spangs nas yun ring po'i don dang ǀ phan pa dang ǀ bde bar 'gyur ro ‖ gsol ba ǀ bcom ldan 'das 'tshal lo ‖ bde bar gshegs pa 'tshal lo ‖ bka' stsal ba ǀ dge slong khyod kyis ji ltar ngas mdor bsdus te rnam par ma phye bar bshad pa ji ltar shes ǀ gsol ba btsun pa gzugs bdag ma lags te ǀ chos de spangs na yun ring po'i don dang phan pa dang ǀ bde bar 'gyur ro ‖ tshor ba dang ǀ 'du shes dang ǀ 'du byed dang ǀ rnam par shes pa bdag ma lags te ǀ chos de spangs na yun ring po'i don dang phan pa dang ǀ bde bar 'gyur ro ‖ (AKU 21b5–7)

Translation:

[16] What, monks, is not yours, you should abandon that. When abandoned, that will be for [your] benefit and ease. (*Moreover, what is not yours?) Form is not yours, you should abandon that. When abandoned, that will be for [your] benefit and ease. [17] Feeling; perception; conditioned forces; perceptual consciousness are not yours, you should abandon them. (*When abandoned), that will be for [your] benefit and ease.

Text notes:

Line 16: *tuspahu:* The key term for this sūtra occurs eight times in this text, without any variation in spelling. The form is a genitive plural of the second person pronoun, equivalent to Pāli *tumhākam* and Sanskrit *yuṣmākam.* Gāndhārī, like all other MIA dialects but unlike Sanskrit, uses the *tu-* stem for the plural (see Pischel 1965: § 422; Hinüber 2001 § 371). The spelling with *-sp-* (=OIA *-ṣm-*/P *-mh-*) may be related to similar phonetic developments in Gāndhārī: G *aśpado* = Skt. *āyuṣmataḥ* (BL16+25 48, Lenz 2003: 188–9); *aïṣpa* = P *āyasmā*

(RS 12.17). Some other MIA dialects show a labial stop with this stem, for example, *tuphe* (e.g., Dhauli Sep. Rock Edict 1 l. 4, see also Hinüber 2001: § 244), and *tubbhe* (Amg. Uvās § 68, 153 from Pischel 1965: § 422). The change *k > h* is not normal for Kharoṣṭhī where *k* is ordinarily retained, voiced, pronounced weakly (*ya-śruti*), or elided altogether (see Brough 1962: 91–2). This form of the pronoun does occur with *-h-* in the final syllable in Apabhraṃśa, *tumhaha* (Hema 4,373), but this is otherwise not noted among the Prakrits (Pischel 1965: § 422). It may be noted here than the opposite development, *-h- > -k̲-* is observed in one of the other Senior manuscripts in *satak̲am* = Skt. *saptāham* (RS 14.20; see Salomon in progress).

praca⟨ja⟩aṣa: This word occurs six times in five different spellings: *pracajaaṣa* (16), *pajaaṣa* (16), *pacaaṣa* (17), *pacahaṣa* (20, 21), *pracaeṣa* (20). In the present instance, the postconsonantal *r* of *pra* has been made with a separate stroke rather than as the usual extension of the stem. This seems to suggest the *r* was included as an afterthought (see Paleography § 4.5.3.3). The word is spelled without *-r-* four times, further suggesting some uncertainty or indifference over the spelling of this initial. The related form *prahiṇa/pahiṇa* similarly shows uncertainty over the spelling of the prefix (the ratio is 3:2). The present instance also contains an extra syllable due to an apparent confusion in spelling the word with *ca* or *ja*. I have cancelled the syllable *ja* be in the reconstruction, on the grounds that the form *pracaaṣa* is the more common rendering.

prahiṇa: A small chip containing traces of the base of *pra* and the foot of *hi* has been rotated back into position in the reconstruction.

bhavi(*śaḍi kica ṇa tuspah)u: The lacuna in line 16 can be restored with some measure of confidence on the basis of the Pāli parallel, with some adjustment based on correspondences with the extant portions of the Gāndhārī text. A direct transposition of the Pāli of the missing text would give us in Gāndhārī *bhavi(*śaḍi kica bhikṣave ṇa tuspah)u*. However this is certainly longer than would fit in the expected size of the gap. Compared with the reconstructions of other lines, the gap here should be about 6 syllables. On the grounds that the vocative *bhikṣave* (P *bhikkhave*) occurs three times in the Pāli passages corresponding to

extant portions of the Gāndhārī text, where it occurs just once, it seems likely that it was also omitted here. Compare the similar omission of *bhikṣave* from the reconstruction *astaga(*mo eva o jaṇaḍa e)va,* see text notes (Chapter 11, line 31).

[ru]o: The tops of these letters are preserved on a separate fragment. Due to warping of the scroll while it was rolled up, the tops have not been aligned in the digital reconstruction.

bhaviśa: The final syllable of this word has been omitted due to the lack of space at the end of the line. In this case the scribe did not continue the word on the next line, as he has done elsewhere (cf. *dharma|ṇa* ll. 37–8).

Line 17: *sakhara:* The bottoms of these akṣaras are preserved on several small fragments. The *kha* and *ra* slightly overlap each other.

tuspahu: The very tops of these letters are covered by a strip of bark which shows traces of letters from the verso. In the reconstructed image this is shown in gray.

(*prahiṇa hi)ḍae: The lacuna in line 17 may be reconstructed on the basis of internal parallelism, since the formula X *ṇa tuspahu ta pajaaṣa ta prahiṇa hiḍae suhae bhaviśaḍi* is repeated, with some variations in spelling, six times in this short text (see § 2.2.2.2). The missing portion of line 17, *(*prahiṇa hi)-,* comes from the middle of the phrase. The corresponding portion of the Pāli version includes the enclitic second person pronoun *vo* 'by you.' But this is not found in the surviving portions of the Gāndhārī text, so that its presumptive Gāndhārī equivalent, **vo,* has not been reconstructed here. Therefore, just four akṣaras seem to be missing.

+[ḍa]e: The first letter of this word is lost, but can be restored as *hi* on the basis of the repeating formula.

[su]hae: The akṣara *su* is written as a correction on top of an erroneous *ṇa* (see Paleography § 4.7.5). It is not clear why the scribe might at first have written *ṇa* in this case.

9.2.3. The Jeḍa-grove Simile (line 17–9)
Edition:

[17] *sayaṣavi yo himaspi jeḍavaṇe* [18] *triṇaka[ṭha]śahapatrapalaśa ta jaṇe chidea va hare[a v]+ +++ + +++[c.a] karea ta ki mañaṣa avi ṇa tuspahu eḍam=aṣa aspe*

eṣe [19] *jaṇe chidaḏi va [h.r.ḏi] va dahaḏi va yaṣapacea kare ṇa [hi]+ ++ + +[s.] eḏ[u] ṇa eḏa bhate atva va atvaṇi[a.] va*

Reconstruction:

[17] *sayaṣavi yo himaspi jeḏavaṇe* [18] *triṇa-kaṭha-śaha-patra-palaśa ta jaṇe chidea va harea v(*a dahea va yaṣapa)c(*e)a karea ta ki mañaṣa avi ṇa tuspahu eḏam aṣa aspe eṣe* [19] *jaṇe chidaḏi va h(*a)r(*a)ḏi va dahaḏi va yaṣapacea kare ṇa hi(*ḏa bhate ta ki)s(*a) eḏu ṇa eḏa bhate atva va atvaṇia va*

Pāli parallel:

seyyathāpi bhikkhave yam imasmiṃ jetavane tiṇakaṭṭhasākhāpalāsam taṃ jano hareyya vā ḍaheyya va yathāpaccayaṃ vā kareyya. api nu tumhākam evam assa amhe jano harati vā ḍahati vā yathāpaccayaṃ vā karotī ti. no hetaṃ bhante. taṃ kissa hetu. na hi no etam bhante attā vā attaniyaṃ vā ti. (SN III 34.5–12)

Chinese parallel:

譬如祇桓林中樹木。有人斫伐枝條。擔持而去。汝等亦不憂感。所以者何。以彼樹木非我．非我所 (T 2 no. 99 70b5–8)

Translation:

[17] "[It is] just as if [18] a person were to cut, or carry off, or (*burn, or) do as they need with, the grass, sticks, branches, leaves, and foliage in this Jeḏa-grove. Then what do you think? Would this occur to you?: [19] 'This person cuts us, or carries us off, or burns us, or may do as he needs with us'?" "Indeed, this is not the case, (*Sir)." "Why is (*that)?" "[Because], this [Jeḏa-grove], Sir, neither is the self, nor belongs to the self."

Text notes:

Line 17: *himaspi jeḏavaṇe:* A long sliver of bark has flipped over from the verso side covering a small strip across the middles and bottoms of these akṣaras. Despite this, there is no difficulty with the reading here.

Line 18: *triṇa:* The central portion of the akṣara is on a separate chip that has slipped behind the main fragment. Enough remains so that the reading is not in doubt.

ka[ṭha]: The form of *ṭha* is slightly unusual in that the stem is extended above the top line. This shape seems unlikely to be an *e* vowel diacritic, but may be the result of a miswriting which was immediately corrected to *ṭha* (see Paleography § 4.5.2.12).

hare[a]: The base of the final akṣara in this word is missing. The top is strongly indicative of the vowel carrier ($\mathcal{I}$), and while other independent vowels could theoretically be understood here, context and internal parallels suggest that *a* is the correct reading.

v(*a dahea va yaṣapa)c(*e)a: The reconstruction of the break in line 18 is based on the Pāli parallel, *va yathāpaccayaṃ vā kareyya,* and on the repetition of this phrase, changed to the indicative, in line 19. According to this, seven complete akṣaras should be missing, *v(*a dahea va yaṣapa)c(*e)a,* which fits the expected width of the lacuna here. There is a dot of ink at the top of fragment D34, which, if connected with the above line, would be part of the foot of *pa* in *(*yaṣapa)c(*e)a.* In line 19, where the break must be shorter, the reconstruction calls for *(*ṇa eḍa ta ki)s(*a)* on the basis of Pāli *no hetaṃ bhante. taṃ kissa….*

The parallel clearly indicates that *himaspi* must correspond to Pāli *imasmin.* The same word is also spelled in Gāndhārī as *imaśpi* (AG-G 044e [62]; Salomon In Progress). The sound change *ṣm > sp* is also seen above in the discussion of *tuspahu* (16; see Phonology § 5.2.2.7). A peculiar habit of this scribe is that he sometimes adds an initial *h-* to words beginning with *i-* and *ṛ-,* compare: *hidriaṇa* (= Skt. *indriyānām,* l. 34), but *idriaṇa* (l. 39); *hirdaupaḍaṇa* (= Skt. *ṛddhipādānām,* l. 38). The reading of a small fragment of a similar sūtra among the Turfan manuscripts corresponding to this part of the Gāndhārī also supports the present interpretation: /// *(ya)d (i)masmiṃ jetavane [tṛ](ṇa)////* (SHT VI 1226 Frag. 1 Rv).

+++[c.a]: On the basis of two partial akṣaras and the expected reading from the Pāli parallel, the reading *yaṣapacea* has been restored here. The same word occurs in the next line.

chidea va harea v(*a dahea va yaṣapa)c(*e)a karea: The sequence of verbs used here differs in the various versions. Gāndhārī has a list of four actions, *chidea harea v(*a dahea va yaṣapa)c(*e)a karea,* whereas Pāli has just three, *hareyya vā ḍaheyya va yathāpaccayaṃ vā kareyya.* The Chinese seems to match the Gāndhārī here, in that it has verbs to denote cutting (*zhuófá* 斫伐 = G *chidea*) as well as carrying away (*dānchí* 擔持 = G *harea*/P *hareyya*). But it

differs from both Gāndhārī and Pāli in that it does not mention burning (G *dahea/*P *ḍaheyya*) or doing with according to need (G *yaṣapacea karea/*P *yathāpaccayaṃ vā kareyya*).

ta ki mañaṣa: Here the Gāndhārī text differs from the Pāli by inserting, "Then what do you think?" *ta ki mañaṣa,* before "Would this occur to you?" But the phrase *avi ṇa tuspahu eḍam aṣa* closely corresponds to Pāli *api nu tumhākam evam assa.*

Line 19: *[h.r.ḍi]:* The middle portion of these letters is obscured by a flipped fragment of the verso. The visible traces support the expected reading *haradi,* but cannot confirm it absolutely.

kare: The Pāli parallel, *karoti,* leads us to expect Gāndhārī *karoḍi.* While it might be possible to read this together with the next two syllables *ṇa [hi]* (see next note) and read *ḍi* where I have read *[hi]* to give *kareṇa[ḍi],* the surviving traces of this letter strongly suggest reading *hi.* Furthermore, such a reading would not be a normal correspondent to Pāli *karoti.* I therefore read *kare* as an optative, which contrasts with the optative *karea* in the preceding line, however, a third-person singular optative ending in -*e* is equally possible, even side by side with the ending -*ea* (e.g., Khvs-G: *care* 14d, *carea* 25). The third-person singular optative in -*e* is also the normal form found in the EĀ-G (see Allon 2001: § 6.3.2).

ṇa [hi]+: There is a shape like an *e*-vowel diacritic above *ṇ,* but in the color image this seems to be a lenticel rather than an ink stroke. These two akṣaras before the vertical break should be equivalent to Pāli *no hetaṃ.* Here the loss of the *o* vowel is not too troubling, as it is conceivable that the emphatic negative particle in Pāli (*no*) could have overlapped with the simple negative (*ṇa*) in Gāndhārī, but at the same time it is equally possible that the scribe neglected to mark the vowel diacritic, compare *[ṇo]* (36, see text note, Chapter 11 line 36, and Paleography § 4.6.1). Given that the manuscript is damaged here, it is impossible to say for certain how *hi* relates to the Pāli parallel; perhaps in Gāndhārī the sandhi is *hi 'taṃ* as opposed to Pāli *h'etaṃ.*

eḍ[u]: This word is preserved on two fragments (B and D34). The restoration of debris fragment 34 here is confirmed because remnants of *ḍ[u]* are preserved on it and the adjoining main fragment (B). The reading of the verso is less conclusive, but does not present any

problems (see text note on *ba[l.ṇ.],* Chapter 11 line 39). The base of the second akṣara is only partially preserved, and seems to resemble *ḍa* (cf. **ะ**), without the loop for the expected *u* vowel (cf. **𝓛**), but this might be an illusion caused by the break. On the basis of the parallel *eḍu* must be equivalent to Pāli *hetu.* Loss of initial *h-* is quite normal in the work of this scribe, see also *eḍu* (= Skt./P hetu, line 37) and *iḍae* (= P *hitāya,* RS 12.71), but there are exceptions to this, for example, *heḍa* (= Skt./P *hetu* RS 20.9).

atva: The correspondence of *atva* with Sanskrit *ātman* is well established in Gāndhārī for example, in Dhp-G[K] 16c and the Taxila silver scroll (CKI 60.5). As such, *atva va atvaṇi[a.] va* is precisely the expected equivalent for Pāli *attā vā attaniyaṃ vā* (see also Brough 1962: § 53).

atvaṇi[a.]: The end of this word is interrupted by a knot in the bark. The final akṣara is disturbed so that the reading is uncertain, though probable.

9.2.4. "What is Not Yours," 2 (line 19–21)

Edition:

[19] *evam=eva ya ṇa* [20] *tuspahu ta pacahaṣa ta pahiṇa hiḍae suhae bhaviśa[i] ++ ++ hu ruo ṇa tuspahu ta pracaeṣa ta pahiṇa hiḍae suhae bhaviśaḍi* [21] *veḍaṇa saña ṣakhara viñaṇa t[u]spahu ta pacahaṣa ta pra[h]++ +++ ++[a.] bhaviśaḍi iḍam=eyi bhayava ◦*

Reconstruction:

[19] *evam eva ya ṇa* [20] *tuspahu ta pacahaṣa ta pahiṇa hiḍae suhae bhaviśa(*ḍ)i (*evam eva) hu ruo ṇa tuspahu ta pracaeṣa ta pahiṇa hiḍae suhae bhaviśaḍi* [21] *veḍaṇa saña ṣakhara viñaṇa ⟨*ṇa⟩ tuspahu ta pacahaṣa ta prah(*iṇa hiḍae suha)a. bhaviśaḍi iḍam eyi bhayava ◦*

Pāli parallel:

evam eva kho bhikkhave rūpaṃ na tumhākaṃ. taṃ pajahatha. taṃ vo pahīnaṃ hitāya sukhāya bhavissati. vedanā na tumhākam. saññā. saṅkhārā na tumhākaṃ. viññāṇaṃ na tumhākaṃ taṃ pajahatha. taṃ hi vo pahīnaṃ hitāya sukhāya bhavissatī ti. (SN III 34.13–7)

Chinese parallel:

如是。比丘。非汝所應者。當盡捨離。捨離已。長夜安樂。何等非汝所應。色非汝所應。當盡捨離。捨離已。長夜安樂。如是受．想．行．識。非汝所應。當速捨離。捨彼法已。長夜安樂。 (T 2 no. 99 70b8–2)

Tibetan parallel:

dge slong gzugs bdag ma yin te chos de khyod kyis spang bar bya'o ‖ chos de khyod kyis spangs na yun ring po'i don dang phan pa dang bde bar 'gyur ro ‖ tshor ba dang | 'du shes dang 'du byed dang | rnam par shes pa bdag ma yin te | chos de khyod kyis spang bar bya'o ‖ chos de khyod kyis spangs na yun ring po'i don dang phan pa dang bde bar 'gyur ro ‖ (AKU 22a1–3)

Translation:

[19] In the same way, you should abandon what is not [20] yours. When abandoned, it will be for [your] benefit and ease. (*In the same way,) form is not yours, you should abandon that. When abandoned, it will be for [your] benefit and ease. [21] Feelings; conception; conditioned forces; perceptual consciousness is ⟨*not⟩ yours, you should abandon that. When abandoned, it will be for [your] (*benefit and ease). This is what the Lord said.

Text notes:

Line 20: *bhaviśa+:* The final syllable is lost, but can be confidently reconstruted as *(*di).*

*bhaviśa(*di evam eva):* The lacuna here is reconstructed on the basis of the Pāli text. The Gāndhārī probably lacked an equivalent to the vocative *bhikkhave* found in Pāli, as the gap seems sufficient for five akṣaras rather than eight.

hu: Although this akṣara comes immediately after the vertical break, we can be fairly certain that it represents a complete word. In Pāli the word preceeding *rūpa* is *bhikkhave,* and this is certainly not what we find in Gāndhārī. Prior to that, Pāli has *kho,* which is known to be cognate with *hu* in Gāndhārī (cf. Dhp-G[K] 58d, 79d, 276c). I therefore take this to be the reading.

Line 21: *vedaṇa:* The tops of these akṣaras are obscured by a fold. However, the reading is secure.

t[u]spahu: The *u* vowel loop on *tu* is smaller than usual and slightly smudged, but seems to be present.

pra[h.]+: The end of this word is lost in the break, but the reconstruction *prah(*iṇa)* is secure on the grounds of internal parallelism.

++[a.]: Only a trace of the stem of the last letter is visible here. The remains are consistent with the expected independent *e* vowel *(*suha)e*.

bhaviśaḏi: The top of *bha* is damaged, but there is no doubt about the reading.

eyi: The verbal element *eyi* is irregular, but by now well attested in Gāndhārī. A bewildering array of spellings for this third-person singular preterite of √*vac* have now been observed, including *aya* (RS 13.8), *ayi* (RS 19.2), *a[va]ï* (EĀ-G 16), *avaci* (HI 17r3, ND 511r 7b, 7d), *u* (in *idam=u bhayavadu,* EĀ-G 16, 36), *eyi* (RS 5.21, 27), *oya* (RS 5.32) and *oyi* (RS 20.11). The problem of these developments of *avoca* has been discussed in detail in connection with the EĀ-G (Allon 2001: 163–5, 181–2). Allon concludes that Gāndhārī *avaï/avaci* are likely to be "adaptations of the thematic aorist *avaca* (common in both BHS and Pāli) to the *i/ī* aorists (or, perhaps better, blends of the thematic aorist with the *i/ī* aorists)" (p. 181; see also BHSG § 32.22). The form *eyi* found in this manuscript must represent subsequent phonetic changes: *ava > e* and *ci > yi*. The first of these changes is exceptional, and given the array of attested initial vowels, this suggests the word is being influenced by its phonetic environment. Both Pāli *etad avoca* and *idam avoca* are frequent fixed locutions in the literature, so we could think of the underlying *-ava-* as functioning in Gāndhārī as if it were in internal position, and so being reduced to *o* (see Allon 2001: 165).

CHAPTER 10
The Nivriḍabahulo-sutra

10.1. Introduction

10.1.1. Summary of Contents

The third sūtra on this manuscript is a Gāndhārī version of the Kulaputtenadukkhā-sutta, also called the Nibbidābahula-sutta in Pāli. This is a very short teaching instructing the adherent to view the five aggregates with disgust. By so doing, one is expected to gain understanding of the aggregates, and in turn be released from the cycle of birth, aging, sickness and death. Like the preceding sūtra, the opening and closing formulas are much abbreviated.

10.1.2. Extant Versions

The Gāndhārī sūtra in question has been identified with parallel versions in Pāli and Chinese. No Sanskrit fragments of this sūtra are currently known. The commentary to the Saṃyutta-nikāya, the Sāratthapakāsinī, does not comment on this sutta directly but does include a discussion of an almost identical sutta. A commentary in the Yogācārabhūmi concerning this sūtra survives in Chinese and Tibetan.

This text is a Gāndhārī version parallel to the Pāli Kulaputtenadukkhā-sutta (1) (SN III 179). In the Saṃyutta-nikāya, this sutta is eleventh in the Kukkuḷavagga, and constitutes sutta 146 in the Khandhasaṃyutta, part 1 of the Khandhavagga. The next three suttas in this vagga are almost identical but for the substitution of the key term *nibbidābahulaṃ* with alternate expressions: *aniccānupassī* (III 179.30), *dukkhānupassī* ([Bᵉ] II 148.1), and *anattānupassī* (III 180.5). The European edition omits the *dukkhānupassī-sutta* from this group. A set of very similar suttas is found in the Natumhākavagga, Anudhamma suttas 1–4. In this case, the European edition includes suttas equivalent to all four in the previous set, including the dukkānupassī-sutta. The difference between the suttas in these two groups lies in the wording of the first sentence. In the Natumhākavagga the opening is *dhammānudhammapaṭipannassa bhikhave bhikkhuno ayam anudhammo hoti* (SN III 40.24–

5), "Bhikkhus, when a bhikkhu is practising in accordance with the Dhamma, this is what accords with the Dhamma" (Bodhi 2000: 882); whereas the Kukkuḷavagga has *saddhāpabbajitassa bhikkhave kulaputtassa ayam anudhammo hoti* (SN III 179.12–3), "Bhikkhus, for a clansman who has gone forth out of faith, this is what accords with the Dhamma" (Bodhi 2000: 977). The Gāndhārī text matches second type of opening and is based on the key term *nibbidābahulaṃ*. It therefore, directly parallels the Kulaputtenadukkhā-sutta (1), being so identified by Richard Salomon (2003b: 79).

The modern printed editions agree in referring to the parallel of our Gāndhārī sūtra in the uddāna as *kulaputtena* (SN III 180.23). However, only the PTS edition uses this as the title for the sutta. The Burmese, Sri Lankan, Nālandā, and VRI editions all give the title as *nibbidābahula-sutta* (Bᵉ II 147.13; Cᵉ III 320.2; Nᵉ II 392.8; VRIᵉ III 163.16). The Thai and Khmer editions do not provide titles for individual suttas in the Saṃyutta-nikāya. The Anudhamma-suttas in the Natumhāka-vagga are named consistently among the modern editions.

As mentioned above, the Sāratthappakāsinī does not comment on the Kulaputtena-dukkhā-/nibbidābahula-sutta nor the subsequent suttas in this group, presumably because the comments on the Anudhamma-suttas (Spk II 267), are applicable here. The commentary in the ṭīkā is similarly based on the Anudhamma-suttas (Spk-pṭ [VRIᵉ] II 194–5). The VRI edition of both the Spk and Spk-pṭ commentaries on this sutta are entitled Anudhammasuttādivaṇṇanā. The European edition of Spk does not give a title.

The editors of the Taishō identified Zá āhán jīng sūtras 47 and 48 together as parallels to the Pāli Kulaputtenadukkhā-suttas 1 and 2 (T 2 no. 99 p. 12 nn. 1, 3). Akanuma, on the other hand, linked the two pairs respectively (1929: 28, 210). A more accurate identification linking both Pāli suttas with just Zá āhán jīng sūtra 48, since the concluding statement is not parallel in sūtra 47, is given in Yìnshùn 1983: 162 n. 1. In light of this, Salomon's initial identification of our Gāndhārī sūtra with Zá āhán jīng sūtra 47 (Salomon 2003b: 79) should be corrected to sūtra 48 (T 2 no. 99 12a18–26). The title of this sūtra as found in the uddāna is *Xìn* 信 'Faith' (T 2 13c5). The Zá āhán jīng also includes one sūtra which corresponds to

the four Anudhamma-suttas, i.e., sūtra 27 (T 2 no. 99 p. 5c20–9). The uddāna title here is *Xiàng fǎ* 向法 'Accordance with the Dharma.' None of these sūtras have parallels in the two other Chinese translations of the SĀ (T 2 nos. 100 and 101).

A commentary on this sūtra is preserved in the Vastusaṃgrahaṇī of the Yogācārabhūmi. This text survives in both Chinese (T 30 no. 1579 p. 795b25–c3) and Tibetan translations (D 4039 *sems tsam, zi* 178b6–179a1).

There are three previous English translations of this sutta, all from Pāli: Woodward 1925: 150; Myanmar Pitaka Association 1996: 361; and Bodhi 2000: 977–8.

10.1.3. Reference in the Index Scrolls

There is a reference to this sūtra in index scroll Senior fragment 7: "*1 ṣadhaṣa bhikṣave ◊ kulaputraṣa ◊ ṣadhae agaraḏa◊śaṇagario parvayiḏaṣa…ya rue i ṇivriḏa[bahu]la*" (RS 7.15; see fig. 13). This quotation immediately preceeds the reference to the Natuspahu-sutra, which it follows on this manuscript. For a fuller account of these index scrolls and their connection to the present manuscript, see section § 1.2.5.2.
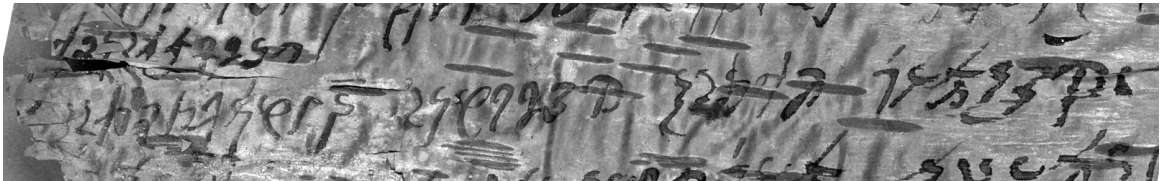
Figure 13. Detail from Robert Senior Kharoṣṭhī Scroll 7, line 15

For the sake of convenience I have called this text the Nivriḏabahulo-sutra, on the basis of the traditional name for Pāli version of this sūtra.

10.2. Text Commentary
10.2.1. The Setting (line 22)

This line consists of just four akṣaras written in the top right hand corner of the verso. The x-height[1] of this line is about 25–30% smaller than the following line, indicating that the

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[1] For a discussion of scribal characteristics, see Paleography § 4.3.

setting, or nidāna, is being set off from the rest of the text; see above § 4.2 for a discussion of this issue.

This form of the setting is even more abbreviated than in the preceding sūtra (§ 9.2, line 15), as the word *ṇidaṇe,* has been reduced to simply *ṇi*. This particular manner of abreviation has not been noted elsewhere in the Senior manuscripts. On the full version of this setting, see above § 9.2, line 15.

Edition:

[22] *śava[st]iṇi*

Reconstruction:

[22] *śavasti-ṇi*

Pāli parallel:

sāvatthinidānaṃ (SN III 179.11)

Chinese parallel:

如是我聞。一時。佛住舍衛國祇樹給孤獨園。爾時。世尊告諸比丘。(T 2 no. 99 12a18–9)

Translation:

[22] The setting is in Śavasti.

Text notes:

Line 22: *śava[st]iṇi:* The third akṣara is smudged so as to be partially illegible, but the ink traces are consistent with the expected reading *sti*. On the basis of context, the reading is secure.

10.2.2. Living Full of Disgust with Respect to Form etc. (lines 23–4)

Edition:

[23] *ṣadhasa bhikṣave kul[a]putraṣa ṣadha aḵarasp=a[ṇag.]++ ++[j.daṣa aya] aṇudharma bhoti [ya] ruo ṇivriḏabahulo* [24] *viharea veḏaṇasañaṣakharavi[ña]ṇe ṇi[vri]++++ +[ha]rea*

Reconstruction:

[23] *ṣadhasa bhikṣave kulaputraṣa ṣadha akarasp aṇag(*aria parva)j(*i)daṣa aya aṇudharma bhoti ya ruo ṇivriḍa-bahulo* [24] *viharea veḍaṇa-saña-ṣakhara-viñaṇe ṇivri(*ḍa-bahulo vi)harea*

Pāli parallel:

saddhāpabbajitassa bhikkhave kulaputtassa ayam anudhammo hoti. yaṃ rūpe nibbidābahulo vihareyya. vedanāya. saññāya. saṅkhāresu. viññāṇe nibbidābahulo vihareyya. (SN III 179.12–5)

Chinese parallel:

信心善男子正信．非家．出家。自念。我應隨順法。於色當多修厭住。於受．想．
行．識多修厭住。(T 2 no. 99 12a19–21)

Translation:

[23] For one having faith, Monks, for a noble son who has gone forth from the home to homelessness out of faith, this accords with the dharma: [24] That he should live full of disgust with respect to form: he should live (*full of) disgust with respect to feeling, perception, conditioned forces, and perceptual consciousness.

Line 23: *kul[a]putraṣa:* There is a stroke through the left arm of *l[a]* (fig. 14) which may be an *i*-vowel (ꝗ). But in light of the expected reading and the citation of this phrase in the index scroll, I think it is more likely that this indicates a miswritten akṣara (see Paleography § 4.5.2.30).

Figure 14. Reconstruction detail, line 23

aṇag(*aria parva)j(*i)daṣa: The lacuna in line 23 can be restored on the basis of the citation in the index scroll which quotes the basic phrase in full as, "*ṣadhaṣa bhikṣave* ◊

kulaputraṣa ◇ *ṣadhae agaraḏa◇śaṇagario parvayiḏaṣa…ya rue i ṇivriḏa[bahu]la*" (RS 7.15; see fig. 13). However, some uncertainty remains because the two partial akṣaras before the break do not correspond perfectly to the expected reading, *-ṇaga-*. However, given the extent of the damage, it is not possible either to determine that this is definitely not the reading, nor to suggest an alternative. Following the break, there is a trace of ink below the first *ḏa*. This, if it is part of an akṣara, may be the foot of *j-* which would suggest the reading was *(*parva)j(*i)ḏaṣa,* with *ji* rather than with *yi* as in the index scroll. But since this trace is so small and this would be an unusual spelling, this interpretation is speculative.

[ya]: The top of this character is smudged. This may be due to an excess of ink after dipping the pen before writing this letter, or possibly it represents another corrected letter after miswriting (see Paleography § 4.7.5). Here again, the citation of this phrase in the index scrolls supports the present reading.

Line 23–4: *ruo…veḏaṇa-saña-sakhara-viñaṇe:* The construction here calls for the aggregates to be in the locative. Certainly the compound ending in *viñaṇe* is locative singular, and despite the ending, *ruo* (P *rūpe*) must also be locative. This might be due to an alternation of *e* and *o* seen in the work of this scribe (see Phonology § 5.1.2.7), or an accepted ending since *-o* is attested for locative in other Gāndhārī texts (see Salomon 2000: 7.1.1; Allon 2001: §6.1.1). In the next line, the same spelling *ruo,* is used for both the locative and accusative. In the citation of this sūtra in the index scroll, quoted above, the form of the locative is *rue* (RS 7.15).

Line 24: *vi[ña]ṇe:* The *ña* was apparently omitted at first, and then written as a correction, on top of *ṇe*. One can only guess at the reason for this, but perhaps since this occurs at the end of a fixed formula, the scribe's attention had already moved on to the next segment.

ṇiv(*r)i(*ḏa-bahulo vi)harea: The lacuna in line 24 has been restored on the basis of the Pāli parallel and internal patterning within the Gāndhārī version.

10.2.3. Fully Understanding Form, etc. (lines 24–5)

Edition:

[24] *so ruo ṇivriḏa bah[u]le viharate ruo pariyaṇa[t]i* [25] *[veḏ.ṇe sañe s̱.kh.re v.ñ.ṇ.]*
[ṇ.r]+++++ ++++ +[ñ.ṇ.] pariyaṇaḏi

Reconstruction:

[24] *so ruo ṇivriḏa bahule viharate ruo pariyaṇati* [25] *veḏ(*a)ṇe sañe s̱(*a)kh(*a)re*
v(*i)ñ(*a)ṇ(*e) ṇ(*iv)r(*iḏa-bahulo viharate vi)ñ(*a)ṇ(*a) pariyaṇaḏi

Pāli parallel:

so rūpe nibbidābahulo viharanto. vedanāya. saññāya. saṅkhāresu. viññāṇe
nibbidābahulo viharanto rūpaṃ parijānāti. vedanaṃ. saññaṃ. saṅkhāre. viññāṇaṃ
parijānāti. (SN III 179.16–9)

Translation:

[24] Living full of disgust with respect to form, he fully understands form. [25] (*Living full of) disgust with respect to feeling, perception, conditioned forces, and perceptual consciousness, [he] fully understands perceptual consciousness.

Text notes:

Line 24: *ṇivriḏabah[u]le:* The *u*-vowel mark has been added secondarily, as is normally the case with *hu* (see Paleography § 4.5.1.3). Here the loop is very small and faint, and overlaps with the stem of the following *le.* Nonetheless the reading is secure.

viharate: The *te* appears to have been rewritten on top of an original *ḏ-*.

The lacuna in line 25 is considerably larger than average because the right side of the manuscript is badly damaged due to a horizontal break. Owing to the internal repetition of this text, the missing portion can be restored with a high measure of confidence.

ruo ṇivriḏabahule viharate ruo pariyaṇati: The syntax and the Pāli parallel indicate that the first *ruo* should be locative and the second *ruo* accusative, although we would expect the ending in *-e* which is found with three of the four remaining aggregates in this sequence, where it marks the locative (see above note on *ruo…veḏaṇa-saña-sakhara-viñaṇe*, line 23–4). The conditioned forces (*s̱(*a)kh(*a)re*) strictly ought to be inflected in the plural, and while it

is possible that a syllable is missing here due to the damage, the letter spacing leads me to think this is unlikely, therefore the normal Gāndhārī locative plural, *ṣakhareṣu/*ṣakhareṣo (cf. Salomon 2000: § 7.1.1; Allon 2001: 6.1.1), probably cannot have been the reading here. If it is singular, I suggest this would have resulted from carelessness on the part of the scribe, merely repeating the ending used with the other aggregates or omitting ṣo/ṣu, rather than showing a divergent tradition wherein the conditioned forces could be treated as singular.

pariyaṇa[t]i: The final syllable of this word is slightly damaged due to deterioration at the edge of the manuscript. It also appears to be a correction, either from -ti to -ḏi or perhaps more likely -ḏi to -ti, since the fuller hooked head of t- is the best preserved part of the letter. This reading would go against the normal third-person singular ending, seen in the same word in line 24, *pariyaṇaḏi,* however, the ending -ti is clearly attested elsewhere in this manuscript (see Morphology § 6.3.1).

[veḏ.ṇe sañe] Despite the damage, the *e*-vowel diacritics are clear. Here it would appear that the masculine/neuter locative ending in -*e* have been generalized to the feminine nouns *veḏaṇe* and *sañe,* as this form is otherwise not expected (see BHSD § 9.77, Morphology § 6.1.2.1).

10.2.4. Released from form etc. (lines 25–7)

Edition:

[25] *so rua pariyaṇo veḏa[ṇa s.ñ.]* [26] *sakhara viñaṇa pariyaṇa parimucaḏi r[u]++ ++[muc.]ḏi veḏaṇa saña sakhare parimucaḏi viñaṇaṣa parimu[c.]+* [27] *jaḏi jara viasi [mar.ṇ.]s.. śoka paridev. ++ ++++ [u]ayaṣa parimucaḏi dukhaspa ḏi vaḏemi hiḏam=e[yi]* [27^M] *bhayava*

Reconstruction:

[25] *so rua pariyaṇo veḏaṇa s(*a)ñ(*a)* [26] *sakhara viñaṇa pariyaṇa parimucaḏi ru(*aspa pari)muc(*a)ḏi veḏaṇa saña sakhare parimucaḏi viñaṇaṣa parimuc(*adi)* [27] *jaḏi jara viasi mar(*a)ṇ(*a)s(*pa) śoka paridev(*a dukha domaṇasta) uayaṣa parimucaḏi dukhaspa ḏi vaḏemi hiḏam eyi* [27^M] *bhayava*

Pāli parallel:

so rūpaṃ parijānaṃ. vedanaṃ parijānaṃ. saññaṃ parijānaṃ. saṅkhāre parijānaṃ. viññāṇam parijānaṃ parimuccati rūpamhā. parimuccati vedanāya. parimuccati saññāya. parimuccati saṅkhārehi. parimuccati viññāṇamhā. parimuccati jātiyā jarāya maraṇena sokehi paridevehi dukkhehi domanassehi upāyāsehi. parimuccati dukkhasmā ti vadāmī ti. (SN III 179.20–6)

Chinese parallel:

信心善男子正信．非家．出家。於色多修厭住。於受．想．行．識多修厭住已。於色得離。於受．想．行．識得離。我説是等。悉離一切生．老．病．死．憂．悲．惱．苦[2]。佛説此經已。諸比丘聞佛所説。歡喜奉行 (T 2 no. 99 12a21–6)

Translation:

[25] Fully understanding form, [26] fully understanding feeling, perception, conditioned forces, and perceptual consciousness, he is released from form, is released from feeling, perception, conditioned forces, [he] is released from perceptual consciousness, [27] [he] is released from birth, ageing, sickness and death, grief, lamentations, (*suffering, despair,) and frustration. [He] is released from suffering, so I say. [27^M] This is what the Lord said.

Text notes:

Line 25: *rua:* The tops of these two akṣaras have been lost due to fragmentation of the manuscript, but enough remains to be confident of the reading.

[s.ñ.]: The ink here is very faint making the reading quite difficult. The akṣaras are more clearly defined in the infrared image of this area (see fig. 15). Due to the loss of the bark at the top of *s.* and on the left side of *ñ.,* it is not possible to exclude the presence of a vowel diacritic here, though none is expected here.

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[2] The Taishō edition does not punctuate between *nǎo* 惱 and *kǔ* 苦, but continuing the pattern of punctuation here makes for a better complement to the Pāli and Gāndhārī versions.

Figure 15. Infrared detail, line 25

Line 26: *ru(*aspa parimu)c(*a)ḏi:* This lacuna can be restored on the basis of the Pāli parallel and repetition within the Gāndhārī text. The ending *ru(*aspa)* is purely conjectural based on the Pāli ablative *rūpamhā* and by analogy with clear ablatives, such as *dukhaspa.* but other forms cannot be ruled out. Previously, the Gāndhārī ablative singular masculine/neuter for stems in -*a* has been noted as -*de* in *maghade* (P *maggā,* Skt. *mārgāt;* EĀ-G 2), so the form *ruade might also be possible. Gāndhārī also has an ablative ending corresponding to Pāli -*ā,* therefore this word might equally have been spelled *rua,* see comments below on *veḏaṇa saña*. The spelling *ruaṣa* might also be possible, see comments below on *viñaṇaṣa.*

In both Gāndhārī and Pāli, all phrases containing the verb *parimucaḏi* (P *parimuccati*), have inverted the normal syntax so that the verb comes first. In Pāli, when the aggregates form the complement to *parimuccati* they are inflected in the ablative (e.g., *parimuccati rūpamhā*). However, this is not the case when it comes to the formulaic sequence, *jātiyā jarāya* up to *upāyāsehi*. Each of these terms is inflected ambiguously between the instrumental and the ablative, with the exception of *maraṇena* which must be instrumental. It may be therefore that all of these use the so-called 'instrumental of separation' (see also text note on *ṇa aṇuaḏehi aṣavehi jita vimucaḏi,* Chapter 11 line 33, and von Hinüber 1968: § 149). In the summation, the case is once again explicitly ablative: *parimucaḏi dukhaspa.*

veḏaṇa saña: There terms do not seem to have the expected ending for the ablative femine singular, which might be -*aya* or -*aa* corresponding to Pāli *āya*. They might therefore be taken in compound with the following term, *sakhare.* Or they might rather be part of the general pattern of collapse in the gender system, so the endings would be the same as for masculine and neuter (see Morphology § 6.1.1).

sakhare: We expected form should be *sakharehi,* parallel to Pāli *saṅkhārehi*. The loss of the ending *hi* could be an error, but based on the alternation of *aṣavehi* (33, 36) and *asave*

(36), which must all be ablative,[3] it seems there may be a genuine reduced form of the ablative plural ending *-ehi* (see Morphology § 6.1.1.2; and text note on on *asave,* Chapter 11, line 36).

viñaṇaṣa: The context, other Gāndhārī forms, and the Pāli parallel lead us to expect an ablative at this point. However, in the case of *viñaṇaṣa*—and also *uayaṣa* from the following formula—the ending looks genitive and may indicate a collapse in function and inflection with the ablative (cf. *tasa* abl. Dhp-G^K). Edgerton noted cases of genitive endings for ablative in connection with verbs of separation (but not √*muc*), for example, *agārasyānagāriyaṃ pravrajasi* (Mv I 322.15; BHSD § 7.56; see Morphology § 6.1.1.2).

parimu[c.]+: Only the top left corner of *c.* remains at the end of this word, but frequent examples of this term make the reconstruction quite certain.

Line 27: *viasi:* The bottoms of these akṣaras are lost in the horizontal break below this strip, but the reading is quite secure. The base of *si* forks, which must be the remnant of a loop which first turned right, then rejoined the stem in a thinner stroke from the left.

[mar.ṇ.]s..: The horizontal break at this point of the manuscript has significantly damaged the reading of this word. The tops of all of these akṣaras are visible on the bottom edge of one of the fragment B panels. The bottom of *r.* is preserved on the top of the next panel. Given that the remnants of the final akṣara most likely preserve the top and tail of *s-*, and that the middle portion is missing, I have reconstructed *s(*pa)* on the grounds that an ablative ending suits the context; but see comments above for complications regarding the endings in this section.

śokaparidev.: The remnants of these akṣaras are divided across a horizontal break in the manuscript. There is no difficulty in making out the intended reading from the surviving traces. Only the termination is uncertain.

(*dukha domaṇasta): The lacuna in line 27 is reconstructed based on the Pāli, thus completing the standard sequence: *jātiyā jarāya maraṇena sokehi paridevehi dukkhehi domanassehi upāyāsehi.* Support for the reconstructed spelling *domaṇasta* comes from:

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[3] Note also that in both cases the accompanying verbal root is √*muc*.

domaṇasta (RS 17.29, 20.23) as well as *domaṇastu* (EĀ-G 42, 45, 48, 51–2, 55), *dormanasta* (CKI 153.3C), and *dormanasti* in (MS 50a.3). This wealth of examples all supporting the form in *-sta* has lead Allon to conclude that this Gāndhārī form "represents an unattested Skt. **daurmanastva-,* with the abstract suffix *-tva*" (2001: 273).

The first four items in the sequence are less than clear in the present manuscript. The first three items appear to be in their stem form, and so may be compounded with *mar(*a)ṇ(*a)s(*pa),*[4] which itself cannot be instrumental—as in Pāli—but may be ablative if the reconstruction *s(*pa)* is correct. The remaining terms are all masculine or neuter stems in *a-,* and so could be ablative (= P *-ā*), or compounded, which is the case in Pali. Since the first group of items appear to be in compound, I have understood the second group in the same way. The summation is again explicitly ablative: '*parimucaḏi dukhaspa*'.

[u]ayaṣa: Here again, the ending is expected to be ablative, but rather appears to be genitive (cf. *viñaṇaṣa* l. 26, see Morphology § 6.1.1.2).

ḏi: The enclitic particle *ti/ḏi* (= Skt. *iti*) is here written *ḏi*, in contrast to the other four occurrences (8 [2×], 9 [2×]) where it has remained unvoiced (see Phonology § 5.2.1.4).

bhayava: This word is written in the right margin, oriented 90° counter-clockwise to the main text, starting on a level with the middle of line 26. For a discussion of this marginal notation see § 4.2. This word completes the closing formula, *hiḏam eyi bhayava,* (= P *idam avoca bhagavā*).

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[4] On the difficulty of distinguishing an unmarked list from a compound, see Morphology § 6.1.5.

CHAPTER 11
The *Vasijaḍa-sutra

11.1. Introduction

11.1.1. Summary of Contents

The fourth sūtra on this manuscript is a Gāndhārī version of the Vāsijata- or Nāvā-sutta. This sūtra teaches that liberation depends on both knowing and seeing the five aggregates as impermanent, and on the maturation of the factors that contribute to enlightenment (*bodhipakṣyadharma*). The sūtra contains a simile comparing the practitioner to a hen whose eggs won't hatch unless properly incubated. The text on this manuscript ends in the middle of the simile. The presumed continuation of the text on a separate manuscript has not been found among other the fragments of the Senior collection. In Pāli and Chinese, this sutta contains two further similes in which the theme of maturation is futher compared to an adze handle (*vāsijata*) and a ship (*nāvā*), whence the title of the Pāli sutta. These similes are entirely missing in the Gāndhārī version, though they may have been included if the sūtra continued onto another manuscript, of which there is no longer any trace.

11.1.2. Extant Versions

Parallel versions of this sūtra have been identified in both Pāli and Chinese. No Sanskrit fragments have been identified to date. Commentaries on this sūtra are preserved in Pāli, Chinese and Tibetan.

This text was first identified as a Gāndhārī parallel to the Pāli Vāsijata-/Nava-sutta (SN III 152–5) by Richard Salomon (2003b: 79). The Vāsijata-sutta is the ninth sutta of the Pupphavagga, and constitutes sutta 49 in the Majjhimapaññāsa of the Khandhasaṃyutta, which is part 1 of the Khandhavagga.

The two titles used for this sūtra in the printed editions of the Pāli canon are derived from either the second or third similes given in the text. The second simile concerns the handle of a carpenter's adze, hence the title *vāsi-jata* 'adze-handle'. The third simile concerns a ship, hence the title *nāvā* 'ship'. The first of these two titles is the more common one in the tradition. It is used for all of the editions which give titles for each sutta. Only the PTS

edition includes Nāvā as an alternative title. The readings are, *vāsijaṭam* (or *Nāvā*) (SN III 152.24), *vāsijaṭa-sutta* ([Bᵉ] III 124.10), *vāsijaṭopama-suttaṃ* ([Cᵉ] 262.2), or *vāsijaṭa-suttaṃ* ([Nᵉ] II 368.4; [VRIᵉ] II 137.1). The Khmer and Thai editions do not provide titles, but, in these editions the uddāna differs from the other versions, reading *nāvasaññāya* ([Khᵉ] 33 357.5; [Sᵉ] III 191.12) instead of *vāsījaṭaṃ* as in the other editions. Both the Khmer and Thai editions also record the alternative *vāsījaṭaṃ* as a footnote. Among the other editions, only the PTS and Nālandā editions acknowledge this variant reading ([Eᵉ] III 157 n. 7; [Nᵉ] II 372 n. 5).

The first paragraph of this sutta is identical to the beginning of another sutta in the Saṃyutta-nikāya, the Upanisa-sutta (SN II 29–32). A sutta in the Aṅguttara-nikāya, Bhāvanā-sutta (AN IV 125–7), is identical to the present text except that it lacks the first paragraph. According to Akanuma's catalogue (Akanuma 1929), neither of these suttas has a parallel among the Chinese Āgamas. Other similes closely related to the chicken simile found in this text occur in the Cetokhila-sutta (MN I 104.3–13 = T 1 no. 26 780b15–781b18; T 2 no. 125 817a16–c18), the Sekha-sutta (MN I 357.6–358.2)[1], the Verañja-sutta[2] (AN IV 176.7–14 = T 1 no. 26 679b4–680b18), and in the Verañjakaṇḍa (Vin III 3.31–6).

A commentary on this sutta is included in the Sāratthappakāsinī (Spk II 328–31), and a subcommentary in the Līnatthapakāsinī (Spk-pṭ [VRIᵉ] II 226.26–228.5). The VRI edition of both the Spk and Spk-pṭ commentaries on this sūtra have the title *Vāsijaṭasuttavaṇṇanā*. The European edition of Spk does not give a title.

The editors of the Taishō identified Zá āhán jīng sūtra no. 263 (T 2 p. 67a22–c3) as a parallel to the Pāli Nāvā-sutta. (p. 67 n. 7). The reference to this work preserved in the uddāna for this chapter is *Yìngshuō* 應説[3], 'to be said' (T 2 no. 99 72b12). Parallels to this

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[1] Akanuma cites T 2 no. 99 316a9–c22, as a parallel to the Sekha-sutta (1929: 166). However, this sutta is identified by the editors of the Taishō (T 1 316 n. 1) with the Avassuto-sutta, and it does not include a version of the chicken simile.

[2] A footnote in the Eᵉ refers to this sutta as "Aṭṭhakanipāte paṇṇāsakassa dutiyavaggo" (172 n. 28).

[3] This title does not directly describe the contents of the sūtra and may be an error. However, the sequence of the sūtras at this point is confirmed by the commentary in the

sūtra are not found in the two other Chinese translations of the Saṃyuktāgama (T 2 nos. 100 and 101).

The Yogācārabhūmi contains a commentary on the Saṃyuktāgama called Vastusaṃgrahaṇī which includes an explanation of the present sūtra. This portion of the text, now lost in Sanskrit, is preserved in Chinese (T 30 no. 1579 p. 780c18–781b10) and Tibetan translations (D 4039 *sems tsam, zi* 145b1–146b2).

There are three previous English translations of this sutta, all from Pāli: Woodward 1925: 129–31; Myanmar Pitaka Association 1996: 293–5; and Bodhi 2000: 959–61.

11.1.3. Reference in the Index Scrolls

There is a quotation from this sūtra in Senior scroll 8, which appears to serve as a kind of index or inventory to this collection (see § 1.2.5.1). The quotation, *ja[ṇ.]sa bhikṣave paśaṣa ◊ asavaṇa kṣao vaḏ[e]mi ◊ ṇa ajaṇaḏa kasa jaṇaḏa ka[sa] ◊ paśaḏa [?/·] ///* (RS 8.5, fig. 16) closely corresponds to the first line of the our text.

Figure 16. Detail from Robert Senior Kharoṣṭhī Scroll 8, line 5

As with the two previous sūtras on this manuscript, I have based the title of this text on the Pāli parallel to which it closely corresponds. However, in this case the adoption of the title is complicated by the fact that the portion of this text which would contain the simile on which the Pāli title is based is missing. Still, rather than inventing an otherwise unattested title for this sūtra on the basis of its surviving portion, I refer to it as the "*Vasijaḍa-sutra," a hypothetical Gāndhārī form equivalent to the more common Pāli title.

Vastusaṃgrahaṇī, which shows that the shuffling which has affected the internal ordering of the sūtras in the SĀ is not responsible for this problem. It is possible, however, that it reflects G *vacaṇio/*P *vacanīyaṃ* "it must be said" in the parallel texts, but this pair of characters does not actually occur in the text (see text commentary line 37).

11.2. Text Commentary

11.2.1. The Setting (line 28)

Edition:

[28] *bhayava śavasti v.hara*

Reconstruction:

[28] *bhayava śavasti v(*i)hara⟨*ḍi⟩*

Pāli parallel:

bhagavā sāvatthiyaṃ viharati (SN III 152.25)

Chinese parallel:

如是我聞。一時。佛住拘留國雜色牧牛聚落。爾時。佛告諸比丘。(T 2 no. 99 67a22–3)

Translation:

[28] The Lord was staying in Śavasti.

Text notes:

Line 15: *v.hara:* A horizontal break in the manuscript affects the reading of this line. The top of the *v.* is completely gone, so that no trace of the expected *i*-vowel diacritic remains. The expected last akṣara of the word seems to have been omitted by the scribe as the bark here is intact, at least to the extent that most of the letter would be visible. I therefore propose to emend the text to *v(*i)hara⟨*ḍi⟩*. Since this word is well attested elsewhere in the Senior collection (2 l. 1; 7 ll. 7, 17, 18; 19 l. 1; 22 l. 18), though not here in scroll 5. There is little reason for doubt over this reading.

11.2.2. One Who Knows and Sees (lines 29–31)

Edition:

[29] *jaṇasa bhikṣave paśaṣa asavaṇa kṣao vaḍemi ṇa [a]+++ + ++[śa]ḍa kaṣa jaṇaḍa kaṣa paśaḍa asavaṇa kṣaya vaḍemi [s.y.siḍ.]* [30] *aya ruo aya ruasa ṣamuḍaa aya ru[as.] ++++ ++ [v.]+[ṇ]o [a]ya sañe aya ṣakhare aya viñaṇo aya*

viña[31]*nasa samuḏae aya viñaṇaṣa astaga+ ++ + +++ [a.]va paśaḏa asavaṇa kṣaya vaḏemi*

Reconstruction:

[29] *jaṇasa bhikṣave paśaṣa asavaṇa kṣao vaḏemi ṇa a(*jaṇaḏa ṇa apa)śaḏa kaṣa jaṇaḏa kaṣa paśaḏa asavaṇa kṣaya vaḏemi s(*a)y(*a)siḏ(*a)* [30] *aya ruo aya ruasa ṣamuḏaa aya ruas(*a astagamo aya) v(*eḏa)ṇo aya sañe aya ṣakhare aya viñaṇo aya viña*[31]*nasa samuḏae aya viñaṇaṣa astaga(*mo eva o jaṇaḏa) a.va paśaḏa asavaṇa kṣaya vaḏemi*

Pāli parallel:

jānato haṃ, bhikkhave, passato āsavānaṃ khayaṃ vadāmi. no ajānato no apassato. kiñ ca, bhikkhave, jānato kiṃ passato āsavānaṃ khayo hoti. iti rūpaṃ iti rūpassa samudayo iti rūpassa atthagamo. iti vedanā. pe. iti saññā. iti saṅkhārā. iti viññāṇaṃ iti viññāṇassa samudayo iti viññāṇassa atthagamo ti. evaṃ kho, bhikkhave, jānato evaṃ passato āsavānaṃ khayo hoti. (SN III 152.26–153.2)

Chinese parallel:

我以知見故。得諸漏盡。非不知見。云何以知見故。得諸漏盡。非不知見。謂此色．此色集．此色滅。此受．想．行．識。此識集．此識滅。(T 2 no. 99 67a23–6)

Translation:

[29] "Monks, I say the destruction of the taints is for one who knows [and] sees, not for one who does not (*know [and] does not) see. I say the destruction of the taints is for one who knows how and sees how? To wit: [for one who knows] [30] "This is form, this is the arising of form, this is the (*passing away) of form; (*this) is feeling; this is perception; these are the conditioned forces; this is perceptual consciousness, this is the [31] arising of perceptual consciousness, this is the passing away of perceptual consciousness." (*So) I say the destruction of the taints is for one (*who knows thus), who sees thus."

Text notes:

Line 29: *jaṇasa bhikṣave paśaṣa:* This is the first of five occurrences in this text of the paired terms *jaṇasa…paśaṣa* (29), however, in all other instances the endings are all *-ḏa: jaṇaḏa* (29, 32)*, paśaḏa* (29 [2×], 31). The Pāli has the ending *-to* throughout. This situation may reflect an error on the part of the scribe, perhaps substituting a thematic genitive ending (G *-sa/ṣa* = OIA *-sya,* P *-ssa*), in place of the declension of the present participle (G *-ḏa* = OIA *-tas,* P *-to,* Geiger 1994: § 97). Alternatively, the scribe might have intended to write **jaṇaḏaṣa* (=P *jānantassya*), and omitted the *-ḏa-* (see Paleography § 4.7).

[s.y.siḏ.]: The tops of these letters are not consistent with the Pāli parallel which reads simply *iti* at this point. The top of the first akṣara is characteristic of *s-* and a trace of the foot survives on the fragment immediately below which suggests the normal sibilant *s* (𑀰) rather than the modified variety *s̱-* (𑀲). The tops of the next two akṣaras are also fairly distinctive. The reading of the final akṣara is based on an expected *ḏa* from the presumed form *sayasiḏa* (BHS *sayyathīdaṃ,* P *seyyatthidaṃ*), though only a faint trace of ink remains of the top of this letter.

ṇa a(*jaṇaḏa ṇa apa)śaḏa: The lacuna in line 29 can be restored on the basis of the Pāli parallel (*no ajānato no apassato*) and the repetitions in this sūtra, since the two terms always occur together, in parallel constructions. This portion of the text is quoted in the index scroll but part of the phrase has been omitted here. Assuming this to be an error, one might restore as follows: *ja[ṇ.]sa bhikṣave paśaṣa ◊ asavaṇa kṣao vaḏ[e]mi ◊ ṇa aja̱ṇa̱ḏa̱ ⟨*ṇa apa̱śa̱ḏa̱⟩ kasa jaṇaḏa ka[sa] ◊ paśaḏa [?/·] ///* (8.5, the underlined portion corresponds to the lacuna in line 29). It is also possible that this omission is a kind of abbreviation.

ka̱sa jaṇaḏa ka̱sa paśaḏa: The Pāli parallel here reads *kiñ… jānato kiṃ passato,* suggesting that Gāndhārī *ka̱sa* corresponds to Pāli *kiṃ*. In which case, the form could be genitive, but other forms of the interogative pronoun seen in this manuscript extend the *i* vowel through the oblique cases, including the genitive (cf., *ki̱sa* (33, 37 [2×]; see Morphology § 6.2.4.1). Rather, *ka̱sa* seems to correspond to Skt. *katham*/Pāli *kathaṃ* 'how?. This correspondence is perfectly regular, with intervocalic *th* becoming *-s̱-* (see Phonology

§ 5.2.1.4). Searching the electronic text of the Pāli Canon turned up many examples of *kathaṃ* in combination with *jānato* and *passato,* but none that also included *vadāmi,* for example: *kathaṃ pana bhante jānato katham passato anantarā āsavānaṃ khayo hoti* (SN III 57.25–6).

Line 30: *ṣamuḍa[a]:* A horizontal break in the manuscript is positioned such that it may have obliterated an *e*-vowel diacritic, but only if the scribe had written the full vowel sign in the two-stroke style, *e* (�) as opposed to the cursive style made with one stroke *e* (�) which is typical for this scribe (see Paleography § 4.4.1.4). Hence the reading of the final akṣara is probably *a,* but possibly *e.*

aya ruas(*a astagamo aya): The reading of the first term before the break in line 30 is damaged, but there is little doubt about the reading due to internal parallelism. The lacuna can be restored on the basis of the Pāli parallel (*iti rūpassa atthagamo iti*). Note that in lines 30–1 the Gāndhārī passage routinely has *aya* where Pāli has *iti,* hence *aya* in the reconstruction. The Chinese matches this formula (*cǐ sì miè* 此色滅), reading 此 which though more directly cognate with the pronoun *aya* seen in Gāndhārī, could also represent an original with *iti,* as in Pāli (cf. BCSD s.v. 此 1867 p. 687b).

[v.]+[ṇ]o: Based on the parallel, the expected reading here should be *veḍaṇo.* The foot of the first akṣara, preserved on fragment D1, is consistent with this reading. The second akṣara has been reconstructed as the modified *ḍa* (�) rather than *da* (�) in keeping with the orthography of this scribe (see Orthography § 4.9.2). The last syllable is sufficiently well preserved to permit the reading with little doubt.

[a]ya: The upper, distinctive portion of the first syllable is missing. However, based on the parallelism in this part of the text, the reading is quite secure.

ṣakhare: The *e*-vowel diacritic on *re* appears simply as a dot above the letter. This type of diacritic *e* appears regularly in the work of this scribe (see Glass 2000b: § 1.5).

Line 31: *astaga+:* The last syllable of this word is lost in the vertical break down the center of the manuscript. The expected reading *(*mo)* has been reconstructed on the basis of

the Pāli *atthagamo.* This word occurs elsewhere in the Senior collection (22 ll. 24, 26, 27) and several times in the UW scroll (e.g., *astagamo* N2a.2+N3a.1).

[a.]va: The right side of the first akṣara is missing, such that no trace of the expected *e-* vowel diacritic remains. This reading is supported by the Pāli which has *evaṃ* here.

astaga(*mo eva o jaṇaḍa e)va: Here again, the reconstruction is secure due to internal parallelism, and the close match with the Pāli (*atthagamo ti. evaṃ kho, bhikkhave, jānato evaṃ*). The expected size of the gap, approximately seven akṣaras, does not support reconstructing *bhikṣave* for P *bhikkhave,* which is acceptable since Gāndhārī several times omits the vocative where Pāli includes it (see text note on *bhavi(*śaḍi kica ṇa tuspah)u,* Chapter 9, line 16). There are two spellings for the Gāndhārī cognate of Pāli *kho, hu* (20) and *o* (31). I have restored the spelling *(*o)* here on the basis of proximity to the latter form, but admit that either is possible, not to mention a third spelling.

11.2.3. The Non-cultivation of the Wholesome States, 1 (lines 31–5)
Edition:

[31] *asa o añeare* [32] *bhikhu bhayavata eḍaḍ=[o]ya eva jaṇa[ḍ.] [ev.] +[ś.ḍa] aṣavaṇa kṣaya vaḍeṣi aṣa ki[spi] iśe egacaṇa bhikhuṇa* [33] *ṇa aṇuaḍehi aṣavehi jita vimucaḍi abha[vi]++ ++ ++[ṇ]io kiṣa abhaviḍatva abha[viḍa] kuśalaṇa [dharmaṇa kaḍareṣe kuśalaṇa dham]++ abhaviḍatva caḍoṇa spaḍoṭhaṇa[34]ṇa caḍoṇa samepaṣaṇaṇa caḍoṇa hirdhaa.[p.]++ +++ +[ṇ.ṇ.] pacaṇa hidriaṇa pacaṇa balaṇa sataṇa bejagaṇa* [35] *ariasa aṭhagiasa magaṣa abhaviḍatva [i]++ ++[l.]ṇa dharmaṇa*

Reconstruction:

[31] *asa o añeare* [32] *bhikhu bhayavata eḍaḍ oya eva jaṇaḍ(*a) ev(*a pa)ś(*a)ḍa aṣavaṇa kṣaya vaḍeṣi aṣa kispi iśe egacaṇa bhikhuṇa* [33] *ṇa aṇuaḍehi aṣavehi jita vimucaḍi abhavi(*ḍatva taṣa vaca)ṇio kiṣa abhaviḍatva abhaviḍa⟨*tva⟩ kuśalaṇa dharmaṇa kaḍareṣe kuśalaṇa dha(*r)m(*aṇa) abhaviḍatva caḍoṇa spaḍoṭhaṇa[34]ṇa caḍoṇa samepaṣaṇaṇa caḍoṇa hirdhaa.p(*aḍaṇa caḍoṇa ja)ṇ(*a)ṇ(*a) pacaṇa*

hidriaṇa pacaṇa balaṇa sataṇa bejagaṇa [35] *ariasa aṭhagiasa magaṣa abhaviḍatva i(*meṣa kuśa)l(*a)ṇa dharmaṇa*

Translation:

[31] Then a certain [32] monk said this to the Lord. "You say the destruction of the taints is for one who knows thus, who sees thus. Then, why, in regard to this, is [33] the mind of some monks not liberated from the taints without clinging?" "It must be said, 'due to (*its) non-cultivation.'" "Due to the non-cultivation of what?" "Due to the non-cultivation of the wholesome states." "Of which wholesome states?" "Due to the non-cultivation of the four [34] foundations of mindfulness, of the four right strivings, of the (*four) bases of supernatural power, of the four meditations, of the five mental faculties, of the five powers, of the seven factors of awakening, [35] and of the Noble Eightfold Path—due to the non-cultivation of these wholesome states."

Text notes:

Line 32: *bhayavata:* The shape of the initial akṣara is peculiar, with an extra stroke above the top horizontal, but this should not affect the reading since this is a common word, occurring three other times in this manuscript (21, 27, 28). Rather, it appears to be some kind of cursive feature, see Paleaography (§ 4.4.2.26). The form is a normal accusative, equivalent to Pāli *bhagavantaṃ* (Morphology § 6.1.4.5).

eḍaḍ oya: This expression is equilvalent to Sanskrit *etad avocat*/Pāli *etad avoca;* see text note on *iḍam eyi* (Chapter 9, line 21) for a full discussion.

jaṇa[ḍ.]: Due to damage to the last syllable, the presence of a vowel diacritic cannot be excluded, though, the expected reading does not call for one.

[e]+: Traces consistent with the initial *e* vowel expected on the basis of the Pāli parallel are divided horizontally at the left edge of two panels from fragment B. I therefore reconstruct *e(*va).*

[a]ṣavaṇa: The right side of the first akṣara is lost in the central gap in the manuscript, but enough remains to be fairly confident of the reading.

ki[spi]: The form of *spi* is slightly unusual, perhaps due to having been corrected. The akṣara in question partly overlaps the preceding *ki*. This spelling of what is presumably a Gāndhārī cognate for Sanskrit *kasmāt*/Pāli *kasmā* (cf. Pāli *kismā* SN I 37.22)*,* has not yet been observed elsewhere in Gāndhārī. Phonologically it is regular, having the normal development *sm > sp* (Phonology § 5.2.2.7), but note that the *ki-* stem is extended throughout the declension (see Morphology § 6.2.4.1).

Line 33: *ṇa aṇuaḏehi aṣavehi jita vimucaḏi:* This phrase is occurs twice more with slight variation in the next section: *(*aṇu)aḏehi aṣavehi jite vimucea* (36), and *ṇa aṇuaḏe aṣave jita vimucadi* (36–7). The Pāli parallel is *(neva) anupādāya āsavehi cittaṃ vimuccati*, which is equivalent to Sanskrit *anupādāyāsravebhyaścittāni vimuktāni* (SP 179.17). Edgerton renders this phrase from the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra* as "not clinging [(to existence)], their thoughts were freed from the depravities" (BHSD p. 30a).

There are two apparently interrelated problems here. First, the endings of both *aṇuaḏehi/aṇuaḏe* and *aṣavehi/aṣave* alternate *-ehi/-e* though the context and parallels don't lead us to expect any change in the endings. Second, the endings of the two terms agree with each other despite the alternations when they should be independent. Pāli/BHS *anupādāya* is generally understood to be an indeclinable, "ind. (neg. abs. of upādiyati)," (CPD s.v. *anupādāya* I p. 199b; cf. BHSD s.v. p. 30a). This is not easily reconcilable with Gāndhārī *aṇuaḏehi,* which superficially looks like an instrumental/ablative plural. On the other hand *aṣavehi* does correspond to Pāli *āsavehi,* which is instrumental or ablative plural, but *asave* in the next section does not. Plural forms of the oblique endings for the masculine and neuter stems in *-a* are not well attested in the previous studies of Gāndhārī morphology (cf. Morphology chapters, Salomon 2000 § 7.1; Allon 2001: § 6.1; Lenz 2003: §§ 5.1, 10.1), and there are no records of a Gāndhārī plural endings in *-e* other than the nominative (Lenz 2003: § 10.1.1.1.5) and accusative (Salomon 2000: § 7.1.1.1.7). Pāli has a rare instrumental plural in *-e* from Sanskrit *-aiḥ* (Geiger 1994: § 79.6; Hinüber 2001: § 316). This form is attested in the Dhammapada (v. 61), but unfortunately this verse is not preserved in the extant portions of the Gāndhārī Dharmapada manuscripts.

The only reasonable solution to the first problem is that the endings *-e,* and *–ehi,* were interchangeable in the dialect of this scribe. If we assumed scribal error here, we would need to restore ⟨**hi*⟩ for both *aṇuaḏe* and *aṣave,* and this does not seem likely. Especially so, since we find a similar case of deletion of final *-hi* in *sakhare* (26)*.* The result being that we seem to have a pattern where final *-hi* is deletable, possibly due to phonetic weakening. Therefore, I understand *-e* to be a valid alternate for *-ehi* (see general comments on lines 25–7, Chapter 10).

There are two possibilities for the second problem. Either, *aṇuaḏa-* has been understood as a noun stem, and inflected in agreement with *asava-,* giving us "the mind is not liberated from the taints which are without support". More likely, however, is that *aṇuaḏe* is cognate with Pāli/BHS *anupādāya,* assuming reduction of *āya > e,* as an extension of the normal development *aya > e* (see Phonology § 5.1.2.1). Then, we might understand *e > ehi,* to be a hypercorrection, under the influence of *aṣavehi,* which, apparently, can legitimately be shortened to *aṣave.*

The endings *-e* and *-ehi,* could therefore stand for either instrumental or ablative plural, and there is no sure way to decide which we have here. A further complication is that in both Sanskrit and Pāli, the instrumental and ablative may both be used to express separation, as the context requires here (Speijer 1886: § 62; also von Hinüber 1968: § 149). But, perhaps we should not assume that such a distinction existed in the mind of the Gāndhārī scribe.

abha+++ ++ ++[ṇ]io: This phrase straddles the central gap in the manuscript. The rest of the first word can be confidently restored as *abha(*viḏatva)* on the basis of the several internal repetitions which include this term. The final term can also be restored on the basis of the Pāli parallel, which matches reading of the remants of the last two two syllables. This leaves the middle term, which is expected to be a neuter genitive pronoun on the basis of Pāli *tissa*, referring to *citta*—"due to the non-cultivation of the mind." The reading of the Pāli is secure as all printed editions agree in the several occurences of this phrase in this sūtra. However, the spelling *tissa* is not mentioned by Geiger (1994: § 105), but by analogy with the inflections of *ko,* "we find *kissa* as neut[er] and *kassa* as masc[uline]," (1994: § 111.1) we

may understand it as a neuter genitive singular of *taṃ-*. It is unfortunate that the repeated instance of this phrase is also missing (line 37), so we cannot know the Gāndhārī form of this term. Our text may have had a corresponding reading *tiṣa,* or perhaps the more normal spelling *taṣa.* It is also possible that the initial was voiced, as the only other instance of the genitive singular of this pronoun in this manuscript is so spelled, see *ḏasa* (36).

kiṣa abhaviḏatva abhaviḏa⟨*tva⟩ kuśalaṇa dharmaṇa: Since there is no punctuation in this text, the phrase divisions from here, through the end of this section are uncertain. I prefer to understand a change in syntax at this point, in that *abhaviḏatva* follows the question, *kiṣa abhaviḏatva*, but comes at the beginning of the reply, *abhaviḏa⟨*tva⟩ kuśalaṇa dharmaṇa*. This understanding assumes that *abhaviḏatva* is missing—either omitted or implied—in the following question, *kaḏareṣe kuśalaṇa dha(*r)m(*aṇa),* and preceeds the enumeration of the *bodhipakṣyadharmas* and the summation *(*imeṣa kuśa)l(*a)ṇa dharmaṇa*. Such an interpretation also agrees with the received punctuation in the Pāli parallel (see next section, lines 35–40). However, it is possible, though less likely, that the phrasing should be understood differently. In this case, the first and second occurrences of *abhaviḏatva* (33), should be understood in the same way, one following and one preceeding their referents, but the third and fourth occurrences would follow them, "Due to the non-cultivation of which wholesome states?" *kaḏareṣe kuśalaṇa dha(*r)m(*aṇa) abhaviḏatva* (33)*;* and *caḏoṇa spaḏoṭhaṇaṇa…ariasa aṭhagiasa magaṣa abhaviḏatva* (33–5)*.* This deprives the summation, *(*imeṣa kuśa)l(*a)ṇa dharmaṇa* of *abhaviḏatva* where it may be implied.

abha[viḏa]: This word has been added as a superlinear correction. Apparently it was omitted at the first writing, due to haplography (see fig. 17; Paleography § 4.7.5). In addition, the scribe seems to have forgotten to write the expected final *tva.* The omission of this final syllable, and the space between this word and the following superlinear correction, suggest to me that this word was written as a further correction after the scribe wrote the next phrase also as a superlinear correction, and subsequently noticed that the word *abhaviḏa(*tva).*
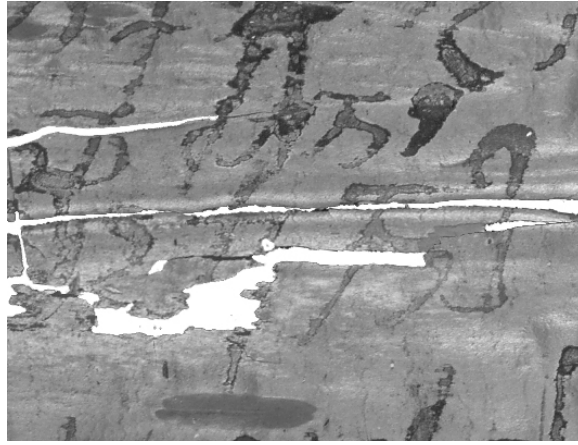
Figure 17. Reconstruction detail, middle of line 33

kuśalaṇa [dharmaṇa kaḏareṣe kuśalaṇa dharma]+: This phrase has been added as a superlinear correction beginning above the *tva* of *abhaviḏatva caḏoṇa.* The scribe did not have room for this correction and so continued with interlinear segments above and below this correction (see fig. 18). The fact that this correction begins above the end of the second *abhaviḏatva* in the body of line 33 seems to indicate that the scribe considered this part of the text to follow at this point. However, the text also requires a second *abhaviḏatva* before *caḏoṇa,* so the scribe seems to have added a second superlinear correction, preceding this one in space above line 33 (see the preceding notes on *kiṣa abhaviḏatva abhaviḏa⟨*tva…* and *abha[viḏa]).*

Figure 18. Reconstruction detail, end of line 33

[śalaṇa dha.m.]+: The scribe ran out of space while inserting the omitted phrase and so continued in a second superlinear line written above the first, beginning from the *re* of *kaḍareṣe;* see fig. 18. The end of this insertion is hard to make out but the surviving traces seem to be consistent with the expected *dharmaṇa.*

Line 33–5: *caḍoṇa spaḍoṭhaṇa*[34]*ṇa caḍoṇa samepaṣaṇaṇa caḍoṇa hirdhaa.[p.]++ +++ +[ṇ.ṇ.] pacaṇa hidriaṇa pacaṇa balaṇa sataṇa bejagaṇa* [35]*ariasa aṭhagiasa magaṣa:* This enumeration comprises the first attestation in Gāndhārī of the popular summary of the doctrine called, "*dharma*s that contribute to enlightenment" (*bodhipakṣyadharma*). Here the set consists of eight items, each of which is a reference to another subset. These subsets are summaries of major points of Buddhist doctrine which are not themselves specified in the Gāndhārī text as they would have been well known to the readers and transmitters of this material. The number of additional items included in each subset has been indicated (as in Pāli, though not in Chinese), giving a total of 41 in Gāndhārī. The contents of this list differs slightly from the standard version (as given in the parallels; see table 3), which consists of seven groups with a total of 37 items, due to the inclusion of the four *dhyānas* in the Gāndhārī version (see § 1.2.5.3 for a discussion of the ramifications of this difference).

All eight items in the Gāndhārī list are inflected in the genitive, governed by *abhaviḍatva* 'due to the non-cultivation.' All but one are plural, the last item being singular as it refers to the collective unit 'the noble eightfold path'. All of inflections that have been preserved here are consistent and regular.

spaḍoṭhaṇaṇa: This is formally equivalent to Sanskrit *smṛtyupasthāna/*Pāli *satipaṭṭhāna,* but the Gāndhārī form seems to suggest an alternate underlying form, **smṛtisthāna-*. In this case the second vowel is *o,* a surprising development. Also, *-ḍ-* is not the expected development of the cluster *-ty-*, which should produce *-c-* (see Phonology § 5.2.2.5). A related form of the same word occurs elsewhere in the Senior collection: *spaḍiṭhaṇieṇa* (= Skt. *smṛtyupasthānika;* RS 8.6). In this case the second syllable reflects the *i* of Sanskrit *smṛti,* but there is no trace of the prefix *upa-* of Sanskrit *upasthānika*. This word also occurs in a Gāndhārī version of the *Saṅgīti-sūtra,* in the British Library collection, here the reading is

[śpatovaṭhaṇa] (Saṅg-G 32r27, fig. 19).[4] The spelling with *o* here also suggests this was not an error but a bonafide spelling in Gāndhārī. Here however, the prefix *upa-* has been preserved, though not in the Senior manuscript. The omission of *pa,* which is likely to have been reduced to *va* might be an error, or have been further reduced and merged with the *o.* Unfortunately, this term is damaged in the second occurrence of the list of *bodhipakṣya-dharmas* and the beginning has not survived, so cannot help us to resolve this issue.
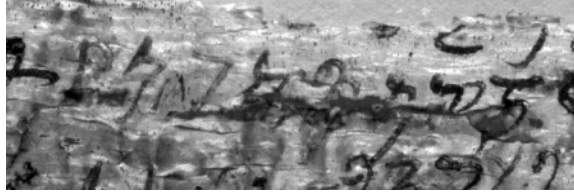
Figure 19. Detail from British Library Kharoṣṭhī Fragment 15, Frame 32, line 27

Line 34: *samepaṣaṇaṇa:* This term corresponds to Sanskrit *samyakprahāṇānāṃ/*Pāli *sammappadhānānaṃ.* As such, it shows the irregular development *h > ṣ* (see Phonology § 5.2.1.7: *-h-*). The same phenomenon occurs with the same word in the Gāndhārī Ekottarikāgama-type sūtras, *[pra]saṇa* (EĀ-G 40), where Allon explained it as a contamination form due to the influence of the related term Skt. *pradhāna-/*P *padhāna-* where the development *-dh-* to *-s-* is normal (see Allon 2001: § 5.2.2.8, pp. 256–60). In this case, there is a secondary development *-s- > -ṣ-,* which is normal for the scribe of this manuscript (see Phonology § 5.2.1.7: *-s-*). The fact that this word is spelled with the normal dental siblant *s* in initial position here, but with the modified sibilant *ṣ* in the next occurrence (*ṣamepaṣaṇaṇa,* 38), strengthens the impression that these two forms were minimally distinguished in the dialect of this scribe (see Orthography § 4.9.4). The first member of this compound term (= Skt. *samyak/*P *samma*) occurs three more times in this text, always with the regular dental sibilant, *same* (41 [2×], 42). The second member (=Skt. *prahāṇa/*P *padhāna*) occurs frequently in the "Prasaṇa-sutra", the third text of the EĀ-G manuscript, where it is always spelled *prasaṇa-* (see Allon 2001: 244 ff.).

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[4] Richard Salomon, working from inferior images, previously read this word as *[satuvaṭhaṇa]* (1999: 172).

hirdhaa.[p.]++: This term also occurs in line 38, so that the reading can be restored with a fair degree of certainty. The term corresponds to Sanskrit *ṛddhipāda*/Pāli *iddhipāda*. The form in Gāndhārī has non-etymological initial aspiration (see Phonology § 5.1.3), loss of *i* in the second syllable (see Paleography § 6.6.1) as well as an extra syllable before *paḏa*. The initial aspiration seems to be a characteristic feature of this scribe; compare also, *hidria-* for Sanskrit *indriya-*/Pāli *indriya-,* later in this line, and the discussion of *himaspi* (Chapter 9, line 17). Given that at the end of line 38 the same word is spelled *hirdhaüpaḏaṇa,* we should perhaps reconstruct a missing *u*-vowel at the base of the third akṣara. In this case the word division would be, *hirdha-upaḏaṇa,* which would seem to correspond to a Sanskrit *ṛddhi-utpādānāṃ (cf. G *upaḏae* (RS 20.2, 3, 7–8) = Skt. *utpādāya*/P *uppādāya*). This would seem to suggest a rather different meaning for this technical term, 'the arising/appearance of supernatural power' in contrast to the normal form: Sanskrit *ṛddhipāda,* Pāli *iddhipāda* 'basis of supernatural power'. The regular form is also reflected in the Chinese *rúyì-zú* 如意足, where 如意 corresponds to *ṛddhi,* and 足 'foot' translates, albeit inexactly, *pāda* which in this case means 'basis' rather than foot.

+[ṇ.ṇ.]: The traces at the start of fragment A are not entirely consistent with the expected reading *jaṇaṇa.* This term does not appear in the Pāli list, but is included in the repeated enumeration of the *Bodhipakkhiya-dhammas* in lines 38–9 of our text. I have therefore reconstructed the term here on the grounds that the ink appears to have faded and so could be read *++ṇaṇa,* though there is some room for doubt. Gāndhārī *jaṇaṇa,* is cognate with Sanskrit *dhyāna* and Pāli *jhāna.* Old Indo-Aryan *dhy-* may become *j, j̄,* or exceptionally *z* (GDP s.v. *zaṇa,* Senavarma CKI 249.5). Given that this scribe rarely uses the superscript bar (e.g., *saprajaliḏa* RS 20.12–3), the spelling here can be understood as equivalent to Gāndhārī *jāṇa* seen in other texts (e.g., Dhp-G^K 58a, 58c; MS 116b3, 13v3).

hidriaṇa: This term corresponds to Sanskrit *indriya,* and Pāli *indriya.* In this case, the form has initial aspiration, wheras the second occurrence, *idriaṇa* (38), does not. The same phenomenon is observed in *himaspi* (= P *imasmin* l. 17) and *hirdhaüpaḏaṇa* (above, see Phonology § 5.1.3).

bejagaṇa: This is cognate with Sanskrit *bodhyaṅga,* and Pāli *bojjhaṅga.*The last word on the line is broken into several pieces. However, when these are rearranged into their original positions, enough remains to be confident of this reading (see fig. 20). This word was previously read as "*bo[jha]gaṇa*" (Allon 2001: 293), but *bo* and *jh* are wrong readings, no doubt influenced by Pāli *bojjhaṅga.* The first akṣara is certainly *be* (𑀤), with unetymological *e* for *o*. This is likely to be connected with the pattern of alternation for *e* and *o* in the work of this scribe (see Phonology § 5.1.2.7). The same alternation is seen in Senior scroll 19, where Pāli *gopālako* is rendered as both *gealao* (RS 19.25) and *goalao* (RS 19.26).

Figure 20. Reconstruction detail, line 34

The seven 'factors of awakening' (*bodhyaṅga*) are enumerated in EĀ-G, where this term is spelled *bujaghu: śpadisabujaghu* (=Skt. *smṛtisaṃbodhyaṅga*), *dharmaviesa(*bujaghu)* (=Skt. *dharmapravisaṃbodhyaṅga*), *(*vi)riasabujaghu* (=Skt. *vīryasaṃbodhyaṅga*), *prid(*i)- sabujaghu* (=Skt. *prītisaṃbodhyaṅga*), *praṣadhasabujaghu* (=Skt. *praśrabdhisaṃbodhyaṅga*), *samasisabujaghu* (=Skt. *samādhisaṃbodhyaṅga*), *uekṣa(*sabuja)gh(*u)* (=Skt. *upekṣā- saṃbodhyaṅga*) (ll. 64–72).

magaṣa: Sanskrit *mārga*, Pāli *magga*. The expected Gāndhārī spelling of this word should be either *maga* or *marga*. Given that *g* may indicate a modified pronunciation of intervocalic -*g*-, we might rather expect the form to be spelled -*rg*- or -*g*- here. However, the distribution of *g* and *g* overlap except in initial position, thus it seems that any phonetic distinction was minimal (see Phonology § 5.2.1.1).

Line 35: *++[l.]ṇa:* The last two syllables of this word are preserved at the beginning of fragment A line 35. The final syllable is clearly *ṇa,* and the traces peceding it are consistent with the expected *la,* so that the expected reading *kuśalaṇa* may be restored with a fair measure of confidence.

11.2.4. The Non-cultivation of the Wholesome States, 2 (lines 35–40)

Edition:

[35] *bhavaṇaṇuyoka aṇaṇuyu[t]asa bhikhusa viha*[36]*raḏe kicavi s̱e eve iche [u]pajea aho [vaḏa m.] ++[a]ḏehi as̱avehi jite vimucea as̱a ḏasa [ṇo] ṇa aṇua[ḏe]* [37] *asave jita vimucaḏi ta kis̱a eḏu abha[vi]++ ++ ++[io] kis̱a abhaviḏatva abhaviḏatva kuśalaṇa dharma*[38]*ṇa kaḏareṣe kuśalaṇa dharmaṇa abhaviḏa[tv]+ +++ +++ṇaṇa caḏoṇa s̱amepas̱aṇaṇa caḏoṇa hirdhaupaḏaṇa* [39] *caḏoṇa jaṇaṇa pacaṇa idriaṇa pacaṇa ba[l.ṇ.] +++ ++gaṇa ariasa aṭhagias̱a maga[s̱]a a abhaviḏatva [i]*[40]*meṣa kuśalaṇa dharmaṇa*

Reconstruction:

[35] *bhavaṇaṇuyoka aṇaṇuyutas̱a bhikhusa viha*[36]*raḏe kicavi s̱e eve iche upajea aho vaḏa m(*e aṇu)aḏehi as̱avehi jite vimucea as̱a ḏasa ṇo ṇa aṇuaḏe* [37] *asave jita vimucaḏi ta kis̱a eḏu abhavi(*ḏatva tas̱a vacaṇ)io kis̱a abhaviḏatva abhaviḏatva kuśalaṇa dharma*[38]*ṇa kaḏareṣe kuśalaṇa dharmaṇa abhaviḏatv(*a caḏoṇa spaḏoṭha)ṇaṇa caḏoṇa s̱amepas̱aṇaṇa caḏoṇa hirdhaupaḏaṇa* [39] *caḏoṇa jaṇaṇa pacaṇa idriaṇa pacaṇa bal(*a)ṇ(*a sataṇa beja)gaṇa ariasa aṭhagias̱a magas̱a a abhaviḏatva i*[40]*meṣa kuśalaṇa dharmaṇa*

Pāli parallel:

bhāvanānuyogaṃ ananuyuttassa, bhikkhave, bhikkhuno viharato kiñcāpi evaṃ icchā uppajjeyya, aho vata me anupādāya āsavehi cittaṃ vimucceyyā ti, atha khv'assa neva anupādāya āsavehi cittaṃ vimuccati. taṃ kissa hetu. abhāvitattā tissa vacanīyaṃ. kissa abhāvitattā. abhāvitattā catunnaṃ satipaṭṭhānānaṃ, abhāvitattā catunnaṃ sammappadhānānaṃ, abhāvitattā catunnaṃ iddhipādānaṃ, abhāvitattā pañcannaṃ

indriyānaṃ, abhāvitattā pañcannaṃ balānaṃ, abhāvitattā sattannaṃ bojjhaṅgānaṃ, abhāvitattā ariyassa aṭṭhaṅgikassa maggassa. (SN III 153.3–13)

Chinese parallel:

不修方便隨順成就。而用心求。令我諸漏盡。心得解脫。當知彼比丘終不能得漏盡解脫。所以者何。不修習故。不修習何等。謂不修習念處．正勤．如意足．根．力．覺．道。(T 2 no. 99 67a26–b1)

Translation:

[35] For a monk who [36] lives not engaged in meditation*,* moreover, this desire may arise thus: "Oh, may (*my) mind may be liberated from the taints without clinging!" But indeed his [37] mind is not liberated from the taints without clinging. "For what reason?" "It must be said, 'due to (*its) non-cultivation'." "Due to the non-cultivation of what?" "Due to the non-cultivation of the wholesome [38] states." "Of which wholesome states?" "Due to the non-cultivation of the (*four) foundations of mindfulness, of the four right strivings, of the four bases of supernatural power, of [39] the four meditations, of the five mental faculties, of the five powers, of the seven) factors of awakening, and of the Noble Eightfold Path—due to the non-cultivation of [40] these wholesome states."

Text notes:

Line 35: *aṇuyu[t]aṣa:* The last two akṣaras of this word are miswritten and may indicate an attempt to overwrite a mistake. However, it is difficult to discern what the underlying mistake might have been. Because the two syllables *-tasa* overlap each other, they resemble a *ña* (see Paleography § 4.3). This may therefore have been the original reading before correction. If so we should perhaps assume a visual copying error based on a similarly overlapping *ta* and *sa* in a source manuscript, as it is difficult to see how a genuine form derived from *anu+√jñā* would satisfy the context here.

Line 36: *ṣe:* There is a small chip lying across the lower stem of this syllable, which has flipped over from the recto (line 14). The reading here is not adversely affected. However, there is some ambiguity over the interpretation. *Ṣe* could be genitive singular masculine in common with other MIA forms (see Pischel § 423), and so one might translate: "this desire

may arise for him". But given that the genitive singular mascule of the same pronominal stem occurs as *ḍasa* in the same line, I have understood this as nominative singular feminine (see Morphology § 6.2.2.1).

eve: This is equivalent to Sanskrit *evam*/Pāli *evaṃ*. There are three other occurrences of this word, all of which have the usual spelling with *a* in the second syllable: *evam* (19), *[a.]va* (31), *eva* (32). The *e* vowel in the present case is likely to be connected with the alternation of *a* and *e* (see Morphology § 5.1.2.4)*,* which operates in addition to the tendency for palatalization in the dialect of this scribe (see Morphology § 5.1.2.1).

[u]pajea: There is a horizontal split running through all the akṣaras in this word, which, however, does not present a serious difficulty for the reading. The minimal loop on the initial syllable *u* seems to be little more than a foot mark, but the parallels and context suggest this should be understood as an *u*-vowel diacritic (see Paleography § 4.4.1.3).

++[a]ḍehi: The top of the first akṣara following the break is missing, but largely consistent with the expected *a*, in a reconstructed reading based on Pāli *anupādāya.* On the ending *-ehi,* see text notes on *ṇa aṇuaḍehi aṣavehi jita vimucaḍi* (line 33).

[ṇo]: What has been read as *[ṇo]* here is an interlinear notation which overlaps with the base of *ṣa* in *aṇuyutaṣa,* line 35. While it is possible to read this line without this insertion, and it does not appear to be lacking on the basis of the Pāli, I take it to be a secondary correction (see Paleography § 4.7.5), equivalent to Sanskrit/Pāli *nu.* Thus it adds a little more emphasis, comparable with *kho* (*khv'*) in the Pāli. The same particle occurs also in line 18, but there the vowel was absent (see text note on *ṇa [hi]+,* Chapter 9 line 18).

aṇua[ḍe]: The final syllable is distorted due to a slight fracturing in the manuscript. A trace of ink to the top right of the sign may be a remnant of the expected *e*-vowel diacritic.

Line 37: *abha[v.]++:* This word is broken by the central gap, but the reading can be confidently restored on the basis of the frequent occurrences of this term.

++[.io]: The last two syllables have suffered considerable damage. This reconstructed term *vacaṇio* is based on the Pāli parallel *vacanīyaṃ,* and an internal parallel with another incomplete occurrence of this word *(*vaca)[ṇ]io* (33). Such an expression is absent from the

Chinese text at this point, but may be represented by *wèi* 謂 (= √*vac* BCSD) which introduces the list of the factors. Equivalents in Gāndhārī and Chinese are correspondingly absent at this point. It may also be that this term has given rise to the title of the Chinese sūtra *Yìngshuō* 應説 (see above § 11.1.2, n. 3).

Line 38: *abhaviḍa[tv.]:* Only the base of the last letter remains. However, the shape is distinctive, and the several other occurrences of this term make the reading quite secure. The presence of a vowel diacritic cannot be ruled out, but it is unlikely.

+++*ṇaṇa:* The gap has claimed the first three syllables of this word. The repetition of this sequence permits the reading *(*spaḍoṭha)ṇaṇa* to be restored with confidence.

Line 39: *ba[l.ṇ.]:* The left arm of *l.* and the top of *ṇ.* are preserved on a fragment from the debris box (D34). An additional debris fragment (D35) has adhered to the verso of fragment D34, partly obscuring the reading. In the reconstruction (see pocket material) the area covered by this smaller fragment has been greyed out in order to avoid confusing the reading of line 39. The placement of fragment D34, though inconclusive on this side, is confirmed by the reading on the recto, line 19 (see text note on *eḍ[u],* Chapter 9 line 19). The presence of a vowel diacritic cannot be excluded for either *l.* or *ṇ.,* though none is expected.

++*g.ṇa:* Only the left side of *g.* and the *ṇa* remain from this word. The reconstruction is based on the occurrence of this term in line 34.

maga[s̱]a: The rightward-pointing foot of *s̱a* is preserved on a separate fragment which has flipped onto the recto.

a: The scribe has written *a* twice at this point, which most likely represents a dittographic error (see Paleography § 4.7.4). Alternatively, *a* might be cognate with Sanskrit *ca* "and", thus providing an explicit conjunction with the final item in the list of the *bodhipakṣya-dharma*. However, this does not match the previous form of the list in line 35. Also, it would be the only occurrence of the particle *ca* in this manuscript.

Lines 39–40: *[i]meṣa:* The first letter of this word is written at the end of line 39. The manuscript is fractured at this point, but the reading is quite clear.

11.2.5. The Hen Simile (lines 40–2)

Edition:

[40] *sayaṣavi kuku[ḍ.]+ ++++ +[ṭh.] va daśa va [baḏa]śa va taṇi ṣa amae kukuḍia maṇa* [41] *aḍagaṇ[i] na kaliṇa kalo same aviśa+++ + +++ [k.la] same pariśpeiḏaṇa* [42] *ṇa kaliṇa kale same paribhaviḏaṇa*

Reconstruction:

[40] *sayaṣavi kukuḍ(*ia aḍagaṇi a)ṭh(*a) va daśa va baḏaśa va taṇi ṣa amae kukuḍia maṇa* [41]*aḍagaṇi na kaliṇa kalo same aviśa(*yiḏaṇa ṇa kaliṇa) k(*a)la same pariśpeiḏaṇa* [42]*ṇa kaliṇa kale same paribhaviḏaṇa*

Pāli parallel:

seyyathāpi, bhikkhave, kukkuṭiyā aṇḍāni aṭṭha vā dasa vā dvādasa vā tānassu kukkuṭiyā na sammā adhisayitāni, na sammā pariseditāni, na sammā paribhāvitāni. (SN III 153.14–6)

Chinese parallel:

譬如伏鷄。生子衆多。不能隨時蔭餾。消息冷暖。(T 2 no. 99 67b1–2)

Translation:

[40] [It is] just as if, a hen might have eight, ten, or twelve (*eggs). [And suppose] these [41] eggs were not properly sat upon by this hen day in and day out; were not properly incubated day in and day out; [42] were not properly nurtured day in and day out.

Text notes:

Line 40: *kuku[ḍ.]+:* The remnant of the third syllable looks like the right side of *g-.* But this reading does not fit well with the expected form, which should match the second occurrence of this word at the end of this line. On the basis of this second occurrence, I have read this syllable as *ḍ-,* though with considerable reservation, since this assumes an unusually cursive form of *ḍ* with a large loop connecting the left arm to the head of the letter. Furthermore, other instances of this syllable are not cursive, particularly the *ḍ* in the same word at the end of the line. An alternative explanation would be to assume a copying error whereby the scribe mistook a cursive *ḍ* in his archetype (e.g., *ḍo*) for *g* (e.g., *ga*).

+*[ṭh.] va daśa va [baḍa]śa va:* This is a succession of three numerals, eight, ten and twelve. The first is damaged, but there is no reason not to expect the regular form *aṭha*. The second appears in the regular form *daśa*. The numeral for 'twelve' is less stable in Gāndhārī and occurs in several forms: *duva[da]śa* (Mānsehrā RE 4, CKI 18.18); *dvadaśa* (ND 364 rev. 2); *badaya* (Shāhbāzgaṛhī RE 3, CKI 3.5); *badaśa* (ND 419 under tablet obv. 4); and *duaḍaśa* (BL 28).[5] The form *baḍaśa* presented in this manuscript is essentially the same as that of ND 419, but shows the modified voiced dental *ḏ,* which occurs in intervocalic position for original -*d*- in the work of this scribe (see Phonology § 5.2.1.4).

taṇi ṣa: It appears that Gāndhārī *taṇi 'ṣa* observes different sandhi from Pāli *tān'assu.* For an explanation of *ṣa,* see Morphology (§ 6.3.2).

amae kukuḍia maṇa [41] *aḍagaṇi ṇa kaliṇa kalo same aviśa(*yiḏaṇa)…:* The concluding phrase of our text is more expanded than we find in the Pāli parallel which has simply: *kukkuṭiyā na sammā adhisayitāni…* The Chinese parallel paraphrases, 不能隨時蔭餾，消息冷暖，"She is not able to shelter and incubate [them] at the right time, the temperature fluctuates…" (T 2 no. 99 67b1–2).

amae: This form corresponds imprecisely with both Sanskrit *anayā,* and Pāli *imayā.* This may reflect a form such as BHS *imāye,* with omitted vowel diacritic. This would be the only case in this manuscript of an omitted vowel in word initial position, however, this is conceivable as errors tend to be more frequent at the end of a text (see Paleography § 4.6.1). Alternatively, it may simply be a variant form which preserves the *a*- stem of Sanskrit, i.e., *amāye (see Morphology § 6.2.2.2).

+*[ṭh.]:* Two very small traces of ink are all that remains of this word. These may be the remnants of the tip of the vertical and left end of the horizontal of the expected *ṭha* (𝒇).

mana: This is the nominative plural of the pronoun *idam,* equivalent to Sanskrit *imāni,* with loss of initial *i* probably due to vowel sandhi with the preceeding *kukuḍia* (see Phonology § 5.5.2, Morphology § 6.2.2.2). This is the only example of such a sandhi in this

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[5] These forms were collected by Stefan Baums in an unpublished paper called "Studies in the Gāndhārī Numerals" (2004) but see also Baums forthcoming.

text. The normal development of initial *i* is either to remain or to become *hi-* (see Phonology § 5.1.1).

Line 41: *aḍagaṇ[i]:* The expected *i*-vowel diacritic is barely visible on the final syllable. There is a knot in the bark at this point, which may have affected the writing of this stroke.

kaliṇa kalo: This is equivalent to BHS/Pāli *kālena kālaṃ,* an idiom meaning 'from time to time' (DP s.v. *kāla¹* p. 676b), Edgerton admits this meaning but in most cases favors a stronger sense, 'day in and day out, continuously' (BHSD s.v. *kāla²* p. 179b). This idiom is not in the Pāli parallel, but is equivalent to *suíshí* 隨時, in the Chinese parallel (BWDJT sv. *kāla²* p. 343b). This expression in Chinese has been understood to mean 'at the appropriate time' (DDB s.v. 隨時). The Tibetan cognate, *dus dus su* (LC s.v., p. 1110a, not in Mvy), is also understood in a weaker and less frequent sense in the lexicons, for example, 'sometimes, now and then' (Jä s.v. *dus* p. 254b), 'at times' (Das s.v. *dus* p. 632a). However, since brooding hens incubate their eggs almost constantly, I have adopted Edgerton's stronger interpretation for my translation.[6] In this regard, the English idiom 'day in and day out' seems a more satisfactory approximation to the doubled *kāla* in Gāndhārī.

This expression occurs three times at the end of the text, with a different ending for the second *kāla* in each case: *kaliṇa kalo* (41), *(*kaliṇa) k(*a)la* (41, see text note on *[k.la]* below), *kaliṇa kale* (42). Since this is part of an adverbial idiom the ending is formally accusative. The morphology of this text shows several cases where different endings are attested, so while the present case is extreme—three different endings in two lines for one word—it is not impossible for Gāndhārī (see Morphology § 6.1.1). One might even suspect that the scribe has done this deliberately, for artistic effect?, in which case one is reminded of the spelling variations in the Khotan Dharmapada (see Brough 1962: 65).

aviśa+++: The restoration of this word is based on the Pāli parallel *adhisayitāni.* In Gāndhārī the prefix *avi-* suggests an alternation between *abhi-* and *adhi-,* either in the dialect of this scribe or at some point in the prehistory of this text. In Sanskrit and Pāli this verb normally takes the prefix *adhi* (Skt. *adhiśayita,* P *adhisayita*). However, there are a couple of

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[6] I am grateful to my friend Barbara Grub for confirming my suspicions about poultry.

exceptions, both in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa: abhiśéte* (1.2.5.4), and *abhiśáyīta* (3.1.1.1). These forms also have the same meaning "*liegen auf*" (PW s.v. √*śī, abhi-* vol. 7 col. 219). Compare the similar alternation of the prefixes *adhi/abhi* in *avimucati* for Pāli *adhimuccati* (see text note, Chapter 8 line 8).

[k.la]: The manuscript is broken at this point, but the reading of the first syllable can be reliably restored on the basis of the two other occurrences of this word (lines 41 and 42). There does not appear to be any vowel diacritic on the second syllable. See comments on *kaliṇa kalo* above.

Line 42: *pariśpeiḏaṇa:* This is equivalent to Sanskrit *parisvedāni/*Pāli *pariseditāni.* Note elision of original intervocalic *d* (see Phonology § 5.2.1.4).

11.3. The Missing Sections of the Sūtra

As noted in § 11.1.1, this sūtra ends in the middle of the first of what may have been three similes, to judge by the Pāli and Chinese parallels. It is not certain whether this sūtra continued on another scroll, but if it did, the missing text would probably have consisted of the following sections: (1) the conclusion of the hen simile; (2) the maturation of the wholesome states; (1) the hen simile illustrating maturation; (3) the adze handle simile; (4) the ship simile; and (5) the closing statement identifying the sūtra as the word of the Buddha. The reader is advised to consult the Pāli and Chinese appendices for a translation of the complete sūtra.

11.3.1. The closing statement

In keeping with the style of the two preceding sūtras, this text may have concluded with the expression *iḏam=eyi bhayava,* "This is what the Lord said," or a similar phrase; see line 21 § 9.2.

GLOSSARY

Each entry consists of the following:

1. The head word according to its form in the reconstructed text. Where there is only one occurrence, akṣaras whose reading is uncertain are bracketed as in the transcribed text. The graph *ṣ* is not phonetically distinguished from *s* in this manuscript, so they are treated as equal in the sort order of the index (see § 4.5.2.36). Instances where the form differs from the spelling of the lemma are indicated with the line number.

2. The Sanskrit cognate. The abbreviation BHS indicates Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit usage (i.e., the word appears in the BHSD).

3. The Pāli equivalent, as represented in the parallel texts, if any, cited in the text commentary. Where the Pāli equivalent is not found in the parallel a presumptive equivalent is given in parentheses ( ). When the given parallel is marked with the "not equal sign" (≠), the word(s) is(/are) not directly equivalent to the Gāndhārī form. In these cases an explanation is given in the notes.

4. The Chinese and Tibetan equivalents, as represented in the parallel texts, if any. For terms occurring in the list of body parts, equivalents from two Chinese parallels are given. Where the two differ from each other, the source is indicated in parentheses (see § 2.2.1.1.2).

5. The English translation.

6. The grammatical status of the Gāndhārī word.

7. Occurrences according to the line number in the reconstructed text. Multiple occurrences in a single line are indicated by the multiplier, e.g., [2×]. Where the reading is uncertain, the reading is given with bracketing follows the multiplier; this may be followed by a second multiplier to indicate how many of the occurrences are thus read.

8. Cross-references, if any.

For convenience, roots cited as head words and in etymologies are given in their Sanskrit forms, and alphabetized accordingly.

⟨˘a⟩: 8, 39. Written in error, see text notes.

[a.](*ma): 2. Interpretation uncertain, see text notes.

a̱k̠araspa: ăgārāt; (ăgārāsmā); 出家; "from the home," abl. sg. 23.

(*agama): agrāmaṃ; (agāmaṃ); "a non-village," neg. acc. sg. m. 10.

agara: in śuñagara-ga̱d̠a.

[a](*ja̱ṇa̱d̠a): ajānataḥ; ajānato; 不知; "one who does not know," pres. part. neg. gen. sg. m. 29.

aja̱ṇava̱d̠a: ajanapadaṃ; (ajanapadaṃ); "a non-district," neg. acc. sg. m. 10.

añeare: anyataraḥ; aññatara; "a certain," adj. nom. sg. m. 31.

aṭi: asthi; aṭṭhī; 骨 (MĀ); 白骨 (SĀ); rus pa; "bones," nom. pl. n. 3.

aṭi[mi](*ja): majjā; aṭṭhimiñjā; 髓; rkang mar; "bone marrow" nom. sg. f. 3.

(*a)[ṭh](*a): aṣṭa; aṭṭha; "eight," card. nom. pl. n. 40.

aṭhagia̱s̱a: BHS aṣṭāṅgikasya; aṭṭhaṅgikassa; "eight-fold," adj. gen. sg. m. 35, 39.

a̱d̠agaṇ[i]: aṇḍakāni; aṇḍāni; ≠生子; "eggs," nom. pl. n. 40 (*a̱d̠agaṇi), 41.

aṇagara: anagaraṃ; (anagaraṃ); "a non-town," neg. acc. sg. n. 10.

a[ṇag](*aria): anagārikaṃ; (anăgāriyaṃ); 非家; "homelessness," neg. acc. sg. n. 23.

aṇaṇuyu[t]a̱s̱a: ananuyuktasya; ananuyuttassa; 不...隨順成就; "of one not engaged in …," neg. gen. sg. m. 35.

a[ṇavi]ra⟨*d̠a⟩-saña-sahaga̱d̠a-sama̱s̱i: *anabhirata-saṃjñā-sahagata-samādhi; ≠anabhirati-saññā; ≠不可樂想; ≠mngon par mi dga' ba'i 'du shes; "the concentration connected with the perception of non-delight," tp. nom. sg. m. 10, 14^M aṇ(*avi)[ra]d̠a-saña-[s̱ahaga̱d̠i]-s̱ama̱s̱i.

aṇua[d̠e]: BHS anupādāya; (anupādāya); "without clinging," adv. neg. 36. See text notes.

aṇua̱d̠ehi: BHS anupādāya; (anupādāya); "without clinging," adv. neg. 33, 36.

aṇudharma: anudharmaḥ; anudhammo; 隨順法; "accords with the dharma," nom. sg. m. 23.

aṇuyo̱k̠a: in bhava̱ṇa~.

atara̱ra̱s̱aïśama: see antar+√dhā.

atra: antraṃ; antaṃ; 小腸 (MĀ); 腸 (SĀ); rgyu ma; "small intestine," nom. sg. n. 3.

atraguṇa: BHS *antraguṇaṃ; antaguṇaṃ;* 大腸 (MĀ); 腸 (SĀ); *rgyu ma'i gnye ma;* "large intestine," nom. sg. n. 3.

atva: *ātmā; attā;* 我; "self," nom. sg. m. 19.

atvaṇi[a.]: *ātmanyaṃ; attaniyaṃ;* 我所; "belonging to the self," adj. nom. sg. m. 19.

antar+√dhā: "disappear."

   atara⟨˜ra⟩ṣaïśama: antardhāyiṣyāmi; (antaradhāyissāmi); "I will disappear," 1st sg. fut. 6–7.

(*apa)[śa]ḍa: apaśyataḥ; apassato; 不...見; "one who does not see," pres. part. neg. gen. sg. m. 29.

abhaviḍatva: abhāvitatvāt; (abhāvittā); 不修習; "due to non-cultivation," neg. abl. sg. n. 33 [4×] *abha[vi](*ḍatva)* [1×]*, abha[viḍa]⟨*tva⟩* [1×]*, 35* [2×]*, 37* [3×] *abha[vi](*ḍatva)* [1×]*, 38 abhaviḍa[tv](*a),* 39.

abhi+√muc: "realize."

   avimucati: abhimuñcati; (≠adhimuccati), "he realizes," 3rd sg. pres. 8 [3×], 9. See text notes.

abhi+√ram: "delight."

   aviramaḍi: abhiramati; (abhiramati); "he does not delight," 3rd sg. pres. 11, 13, 14 *(*aviramaḍi).*

abhoaśa-gaḍa: abhyavakāśa-gataḥ; (abbhokāsa-gato); "in an open space," bv. nom. sg. m. 1, 6.

amae: see *idam.*

aya: see *idam.*

arama-ramaṇea: ārāma-ramaṇīyakaṃ; (ārāma-rāmaṇeyyakaṃ); "a delightful park," acc. sg. n. 12.

ariasa: āryasya; ariyassa; "noble," gen. sg. m. 35, 39.

avareṇa: apareṇa; (aparena); with *samaeṇa,* "some time later," adv. 12, 13.

avi: api; api; "even," ind. 18.

avikṣev(*a): *avikṣepā; (avikkhepa);* "undistracted," neg. adj. nom. sg. n. 5 *avikṣev(*a),* 7 *a[vi](*kṣeva),* 9 *(*a)[vi]kṣeva,* 14.

aviśa(*yiḏaṇa): *adhiśayitāni; adhisayitāni;* 蔭; "sat upon," pp., *adhi+√śī,* nom. pl. n. 41.

aśu: aśru; assu; 淚; *mchi ma;* "tear fluid," nom. sg. n. 4.

aśua-ṣaña-sahagaḏa-ṣamaṣi: **aśubha-saṃjñā-sahagata-samādhi;* ≠*asubha-saññā;* 不淨想; ≠*mi gtsang ba'i 'du shes;* "the concentration connected with the perception of foulness," tp. nom. sg. m. 1, 5 ~*[s](*amaṣi).*

aṣa: adhaḥ; adho; 'og; "downwards," adv. 2.

aṣa: atha; atha; "then," ind. 12, 13, 31, 32 *aṣa,* 36 *aṣa.*

√as: "be."

    aṣa: syāt; assa; "it would be," 3rd sg. pres. opt. 18.

    ṣa: syāt; assu; "they may be," 3rd pl. pres. opt. 40.

asava-: 漏; "taints," m.

    asave: āsravebhyaḥ; āsavehi; abl. pl. 37.

    aṣavehi: āsravebhyaḥ; (āsavehi); abl. pl. 33, 36.

    asavaṇa: āsravānāṃ; āsavānaṃ; gen. pl. 29 [2×], 31, 32 *aṣavaṇa.*

asuyi-: "impurity," adj.

    [a]suyiṇ[a]: aśuceḥ; asucino; mi gtsang ba; gen. sg. n. 2.

    aṣuyi-puḏi-puḏua: **aśuci-pūti-puṭaka; (asuci-pūti-puṭaka);* "a lump of putrid bodily secretions," nom. sg. n. 9. Interpretation uncertain, see text notes.

aṣo: adhaḥ; adho; 'og; "downwards," adv. 14.

astagamo: BHS *astaṃgamaḥ; atthagamo;* 滅; "passing away," nom. sg. m. 30 *(*astagamo),* 31 *astaga(*mo).*

aspe: see *aho-.*

ahara-: "food," m.

    ahara: āhāraḥ; (āhāra); nom. sg. 8.

    ahara: āhāre; (āhāre); loc. sg. 7, 9.

aho-: 我; "I," 1st pers. pron.

aho: ahaṃ; aho; nom. sg. 36.

*[m](*e): me; me;* gen. sg. 36.

aspe: asmān; amhe; acc. pl. 18.

iche: icchā; icchā; 求; "desire," nom. sg. f. 36.

idam-: 是, 此; *'di;* "this," dem. pron.

 aya: ayaṃ; ayaṃ, nom. sg. m. 5 *[a](*ya),* 7 *(*aya),* 9, 14, 23 *[aya],* 30 [7×], 31.

 iḏa: idaṃ; (idaṃ), nom. sg. n. 6.

 imam: imaṃ; idaṃ; acc. sg. m. 1.

 iḏam: idaṃ; (idaṃ), acc. sg. n. 21.

 hiḏam: idaṃ; (idaṃ); acc. sg. n. 27.

 amae: anayā; (imāya), instr. sg. f. 40.

 *himaspi: (*i)masmiṃ; imasmiṃ;* loc. sg. n. 17.

 aya: ayaṃ; idaṃ, nom. pl. m. 30. See text notes and § 6.2.2.2.

 maṇa: imāni; (imāni); nom. pl. n. 40.

 imeṣa: eṣāṃ; (imesaṃ), gen. pl. m. 35 *[i](*meṣa),* 39–40 *[i]meṣa.*

iḏi: iti; iti; "thus," ind. 14. See also *ti, ḏi.*

idriaṇa: indriyānāṃ; indriyānaṃ; 根; "mental faculties," gen. pl. n. 39. See *hidriaṇa.*

iśe: iha; idha; 'di ni; "in regard to this," ind. 1, 5, 10, 32.

[u]ayaṣa: in *śoḵa-paridev(*a-dukha-domaṇasta)~.*

ut+√kaṇṭh: "dissatisfied."

 ukaṭaḏi: utkaṇṭhati; (ukkaṇṭhati); "he is dissatisfied," 3rd sg. pres. 11, 12, 14.

uḏari: BHS *audarīyakaṃ?; udariyaṃ;* 胃 (MĀ); 肚 (SĀ); *lgang pa;* "stomach/bladder," nom.
 sg. n. 3. Interpretation uncertain, see text notes.

udva: ūrdhvaṃ; uddhaṃ; "upwards," adv. 2.

udva: ūrdhvaṃ; uddhaṃ; "above," adv. 14.

ut+√pad: 用; "arise."

 [u]pajea: utpadyet; uppajjeyya; "it may arise," 3rd sg. pres. opt. 36.

ekagrad̲a: ekāgratā; (ekaggatā); "one-pointedness," nom. sg. f. 5, 7 *ek̲agrad̲a*, 9
  (*ek̲agrad̲a), 14.

egacan̲a: BHS ekatyānāṃ; (ekaccānaṃ); "some," adj. gen. pl. m. 32.

ed̲a-: 彼; "this," dem. pron.

  eṣe: eṣaḥ; (eso); pron. nom. sg. m. 18.

  ed̲a: etat; etaṃ; pron. nom. sg. n. 19.

  ed̲am: etat; etad; pron. nom. sg. n. 18.

  ed̲ad̲: etat; (etaṃ); pron. acc. sg. n. 32.

ed̲u: hetu; hetu; 所以; "reason," nom. sg. m. 19 *ed̲[u]*, 37.

eyi: see √*vac.*

eva: eva; eva; nyid; "indeed, even," ind. 1, 19, 20 *(*eva)*.

eva: evaṃ; evam; 如是; "thus," ind. 31 [2×] *(*eva)*, *[e]va,* 32 [2×] *[ev](*a)* [1×].

evam: evaṃ; (evaṃ); "in this way," ind. 19, 20 *(*evam)*.

eve: evaṃ; evaṃ; "thus," ind. 36.

eṣe: see *ed̲a-.*

o: khalu; kho; ≠終; "indeed," ind. 31 [2×] *(*o)* [1×].

od̲an̲a-k[u]ma[ṣa]: odana-kulmāṣaḥ; (odana-kummāso); "porridge," dv. nom. sg. m. 8.

 [o]ya: see √*vac.*

-ka[ṭha]-: in *trin̲a-ka[ṭha]-śaha-patra-palaśa.*

kad̲ara-: "what?" interr. pron.

  kad̲ara: kataraḥ; (katara); nom. sg. m. 1, 5 *(*kad̲a)[r](*a)*, 7, 10 *(*ka)[d̲](*a)[r](*a)*.

  kad̲areṣe: katareṣāṃ; (kataresaṃ); gen. pl. m. 33 *[kad̲areṣe]*, 38.

kaman̲io: BHS karmanĭyaṃ; (kammaniyaṃ); "workable," adj. acc. sg. n. 11 [2×], 13 [2×]
  (*kaman̲io) [1×].

kaya-: lus; "body," m.

  kaya: kāyaṃ; kāyaṃ; acc. sg. 1.

  [k](*a)[yi]: kāye; kāye; loc. sg. 2.

karita: see √*kṛ.*

kare: see √*kṛ.*

karea: see √*kṛ.*

(*karo)di: see √*kṛ.*

kala-mala: kāla-mala; kāḷa-mala; "black dirt," kdh. nom. sg. n. 9. Interpretation uncertain, see text notes.

kala-: "time," m.

   [k](*a)[la]: kālaṃ; (kālaṃ); with *kaliṇa,* acc. sg. 41.

   kale: kālaṃ; (kālaṃ); with *kaliṇa,* acc. sg. 42.

   kalo: kālaṃ; (kālaṃ); with *kaliṇa,* acc. sg. 41.

   kaliṇa: kālena; (kālena); with *kala/kale/kalo,* "day in and day out," instr. sg. 41 [2×] *(*kaliṇa)* [1×], 42. See text notes.

kaṣa: kathaṃ; (katham); "how?," ind. 29 [2×].

ki-: 何, 何等; "what?" interr. pron.

   ki: kiṃ; (kiṃ); nom. sg. n. 18.

   kiṣa: kasya; (kissa); gen. sg. m./n. 19 *(*ki)[s](*a),* 33, 37 [2×].

   ki[spi]: kasmāt; (kasmā); abl. sg. n. 32.

(*kica): kiṃca; kiñca; "moreover," ind. 16.

kicavi: kiṃcāpi; kiñcāpi; 何等, 而; "moreover," ind. 36.

kukuḍi-: 鷄; "hen," f.

   kukuḍia: kukkuṭyā; kukkuṭiyā; instr. sg. 40.

   kuku[ḍ](*ia): kukkuṭyāḥ; kukkuṭiyā; gen. sg. 40.

k[u]ma[ṣa]: in *oḏaṇa~.*

kul[a]putraṣa: kulaputrasya; kulaputtassa; 善男子; "noble son," gen. sg. m. 23.

kuśalaṇa: kuśalānāṃ; (kusalānaṃ); "wholesome," adj. gen. pl. m. 33 [2×] *[kuśalaṇa]* [1×], 35 *(*kuśa)[l](*a)ṇa,* 37, 38, 40.

√*kṛ:* "do, make."

   (*karo)di: karoti; (karoti); "he makes," 3rd sg. pres. 11 *(*karo)di,* 13 *(*karoḏi).*

kare: kuryāt; kareyya; "he may do," 3rd sg. pres. opt. 19.

karea: kuryāt; kareyya; "he may do," 3rd sg. pres. opt. 18.

karita: kṛtvā; (karitvā); "having made," abs. 11, 13.

*keśa-:*髮; *skra;* "(head) hair," m.

    [k](*e)śa: keśāḥ; kesā; nom. sg. m. 2–3.

    keśa-[mast](*aka): keśa-mastakāt; kesa-matthakā; ≠spyi gtsug nas; "from the tip of the
        hair," abl. sg. m. 2.

[kr]umao: BHS *klomakaṃ; kilomakaṃ;* 肺; *glo ba;* "pleura," nom. sg. n. 3.

kṣao: kṣayaṃ; khayaṃ; 盡; "destruction," acc. sg. m. 29.

kṣaya: kṣayaṃ; khayaṃ; 盡; "destruction," acc. sg. m. 29, 31, 32.

khaḍa-: 涕唾 (MĀ); 流哐 (SĀ); *mchil ma* "saliva," m.

    khaḍa: kheṭaḥ; (kheḷo); nom. sg. 8.

    khaḍe: kheṭaḥ; kheḷo; nom. sg. 4.

gaḏa: in *abhoaśa~, śuñagara~, rukṣa-mula~.*

gama: grāmaṃ; (gāmaṃ); "a village," acc. sg. m. 10.

guza: guhyaṃ; (guyhaṃ); 癊? (SĀ); "hidden part, anus" nom. sg. n. 3. Interpretation
    uncertain, see text notes.

caḏoṇa: caturṇāṃ; (catunnaṃ); "of four," gen. pl. mfn. 33, 34 [3×] *(*caḏoṇa)* [1×], 38 [3×]
    (*caḏoṇa) [1×], 39.

cita-: 心; "mind," n.

    jita: cittaṃ; cittaṃ; nom. sg. 33, 37.

    jite: cittaṃ; cittaṃ; nom. sg. 36.

    cite: cittaṃ; (cittaṃ); acc. sg. 13.

    cito: cittaṃ; (cittaṃ); acc. sg. 11 [2×] *[cito]* [1×], 13 *cit[o].*

    citaṣa: cittasya; (cittassa); gen. sg. 14.

    jitaṣa: cittasya; (cittassa); gen. sg. 4, 7, 9 *(*jitaṣa).*

√*cyu:* "perish."

javiśami: cyoṣye; (caviṣsāmi); "I will perish," 1st sg. fut. 6.

chaḏi: ≠chaviḥ; ≠chavi; 薄膚 (MĀ); "thin skin," f. nom. sg. 3.

√*chid:* 斫伐; "cut."

    chidaḏi: chinatti; (chindati); "he cuts," 3rd sg. pres. 19.

    chidea: chindyāt; (chindeyya); "may cut," 3rd sg. pres. opt. 18.

jaṇaṇa: dhyānānāṃ; (jhānānaṃ); "meditations," gen. pl. n. 34 *(*ja)[ṇ](*a)[ṇ](*a),* 39.

jaṇat-: 知; "one who knows," pres. part.

    jaṇaḏa: jānataḥ; jānato; pres. part. gen. sg. m. 29, 31 *(*jaṇaḏa),* 32 *jaṇa[ḏ](*a).*

    jaṇasa: jānataḥ; jānato; pres. part. gen. sg. m. 29.

[ja]navaḏa: janapadaṃ; (janapadaṃ); "a district," acc. sg. m. 10.

jaṇasa: see *jaṇat-.*

jaṇe: janaḥ; jano; 人; "a person," nom. sg. m. 18, 19.

jaḏi: jāti; jātiyā; 生; "birth," cmp. f. 27.

jaḏi-jara-viasi-mar(*a)ṇ(*a)s(*pa): jāti-jarā-vyādhi-maraṇāt; (jāti-jarā-vyādhi-maraṇā);
    生老病死; "from birth, ageing, sickness and death," dv. abl. sg. n. 27.

jara: in *jaḏi~viasi-mar(*a)ṇ(*a)s(*pa)*

jala: jālāni; (jālāni); 網 (MĀ); 垢 (SĀ); "networks," nom. pl. n. 3. See text notes.

javiśami: see √*cyu.*

jita: see *cita-.*

jitaṣa: see *cita-.*

jite: see *cita-.*

jira: ciraṃ; (ciraṃ); "long," adv. 6.

√*jīv:* "live."

    jiviśami: jīviṣyāmi; (jīviṣsāmi); "I will live," 1st sg. fut. 6.

jeḏavaṇe: jetavane; jetavane; 祇桓林; "Jeḏa-grove," loc. sg. n. 17.

ṭiḏ[e]: sthitaṃ; (ṭhitaṃ); "is," pp., √*sthā,* acc. sg. m. 1.

ṇa: na; na; 非; *ma;* "not," ind. 6, 11 [2×], 13 [2×], 14 [2×] *(*ṇa)* [1×], 16 [3×] *(*ṇa)* [1×], 17, 19 [2×], 20, 21 ⟨**ṇa*⟩, 29 [2×] *(*ṇa)* [1×], 33, 36, 41 [2×] *(*ṇa)* [1×], 42.

ṇa: nu; nu; "indeed," ind. 18. See also *ṇo.*

ṇa: no; no; "not," ind. 19.

ṇaga: nakhāḥ; nakhā; 爪; *sen mo;* "nails," nom. pl. m. n. 3.

(*ṇa)[g](*a)ra: nagaraṃ; (nagaraṃ); "a town," acc. sg. n. 10.

(*ṇaṇa): nānā; nānā; rnam pa sna tshogs; "various," adv. 2.

(*ṇaḏi-ra)[ma]ṇea: nadī-ramaṇīyakaṃ; (*nadī-rāmaṇeyyakaṃ); "a delightful river," acc. sg. n. 12. Reconstruction uncertain, see text notes.

-ṇi: in *śavasti~.*

-ṇiḏaṇe: in *śavasti~.*

ṇivriḏa-bahula-: 多修厭; "full of disgust," bv.

    ṇivriḏa-bahulo: nirvidā-bahulaḥ; nibbidā-bahulo; nom. sg. m. 23, 24 *ṇiv(*r)i(*ḏa-bahulo)*, 25 *ṇ(*iv)r(*iḏa-bahulo).*

    ṇivriḏa-bahule: nirvidā-bahulaḥ; nibbidā-bahulo; nom. sg. m. 24.

[ṇo]: nu; nu; "indeed," ind. 36. See also *ṇa.*

ta-: 彼; "he, she, it, this, that," dem. pron.

    so: saḥ; (so); nom. sg. m. 11 [2×], 13 [2×] *ṣo* [1×] *(*so)* [1×], 24, 25.

    ta: taṃ; taṃ; nom. sg. n. 16 [4×], 17 [2×], 18 [2×], 19 *(*ta)*, 20 [4×], 21 [2×], 37.

    ṣe: sā; (sā); nom. sg. f. 36.

    [ta]: tad; (tam); acc. sg. n. 8.

    ḏasa: tasya; (tassa); gen. sg. m. 36.

    (*taṣa): tasya; tissa; gen. sg. n. 33, 37. Reconstruction uncertain, see text notes.

    te: tasmin; (tamhi); loc. sg. n. 11, 13 [2×] *(*te)* [1×]. See § 6.2.2.1.

    [to]: tasmin; (tamhi); loc. sg. n. 11. See § 6.2.2.1.

    taṇi: tāni; taṃ; nom. pl. n. 40.

-tala: in *paḏa~.*

tasa-bhudasa: tathā-bhūtasya; (tathā-bhūtassa); "so positioned," bv. gen. sg. m. 4 *[tasa-bhudasa],* 7, 9, 14 *[t](*a)sa-bhudasa.*

ti: iti; iti; "thus," ind. 8 [3×], 9 [2×]. See also *idi, di.*

tida: tiryak; tiriyaṃ; "across," adv. 14.

tuspahu: yuṣmākaṃ; tumhākaṃ; 汝; *khyod;* "yours," 2nd pers. pron. gen. pl. m. 16 [3×] *(*tuspah)[u]* [1×], 17, 18, 20 [2×], 21 *t[u]spahu.*

te: see *ta-.*

to: see *ta-.*

triṇa-ka[ṭha]-śaha-patra-palaśa: tṛṇa-kāṣṭha-śākhā-patra-palāśaṃ; ≠*tiṇa-kaṭṭha-sākhā-palāsaṃ;* ≠枝條; "grass, sticks, branches, leaves, and foliage," dv. acc. sg. n. 18.

tvaya-: 皮; *lpags pa'i phyi shun;* "skin, outer skin," n.

   tvaya: tvacaṃ; taco; nom. sg. 3.

   tvaya-payata: tvaca-paryantaṃ; taca-pariyantaṃ; lpags pa'i phyi shun; "surrounded by skin," tp. acc. sg. m. 2.

*da⟨*ta⟩: dantāḥ; dantā;* 齒; *so;* "teeth," nom. pl. m. 3.

√*dam:* "tame."

   damedi: dāmyati; (dameti); "he tames," 3rd sg. pres. 11 *[damedi],* 13.

   damita: dāṃtvā; (dametvā); "having tamed," abs. 11, 13.

daśa: daśa; dasa; "ten," card. nom. pl. 40.

dasa: see *ta-.*

√*dah:* "burn."

   dahadi: dahati; ḍahati; "burns," 3rd sg. pres. 19.

   *(*dahea): dahet; ḍaheyya;* "may burn," 3rd sg. pres. opt. 18.

di: iti; ti; "thus," ind. 27. See also *idi, ti.*

dukha-: 苦; "suffering," n.

   dukhaspa: duḥkhāt; dukkhasmā; abl. sg. 27.

   (-dukha-):* in *śokaparidev(*a~domaṇasta)-[u]ayasa.*

(-domaṇasta-):* in *śokaparidev(*adukha)~[u]ayasa.*

drispa: dṛṣṭvā; (disvā); "having seen, seeing," abs. 10 [3×], 12 [6×] *(*drispa)* [1×].

dharmaṇa: dharmānāṃ; (dhammānaṃ); "states," gen. pl. m. 33 [2×] *[dharmaṇa]* [1×] *[dha](*r)[m](*aṇa)* [1×], 35, 37–8, 38, 40.

pacaasa: see *pra+√hā.*

pacaekṣadi: see *prati+ava+√īkṣ.*

pacaṇa: pañcānāṃ; (pañcannaṃ); "of five," card. gen. pl. 34 [2×], 39 [2×].

pacahasa: see *pra+√hā.*

pacea: in *yaṣa~.*

pajaasa: see *pra+√hā.*

*paḍikula-saña-sahagaḍa-samasi: pratikūla-saṃjñā-sahagata-samādhi; ≠paṭikkūlasaññā; ≠*不貪想; "the concentration connected with the perception of repulsiveness," tp. nom. sg. m. 7–8, 9 *[paḍikula-saña-saha]gaḍa-samasi.*

-patra-: in *triṇa-ka[ṭha]-śaha~palaśa*

pada-tala: pāda-talāt; pāda-talā; rkang mthil; "from the sole of the foot," abl. sg. n. 2.

-payata: in *tvaya-payata.*

paradamita: see *pari+√dam.*

pari+√kṛṣ: "reflect."

　　parikaṣati: parikarṣati; (parikassati); "he reflects," 3rd sg. pres. 14.

　　parikasadi: parikarṣati; (parikassati); "he reflects," 3rd sg. pres. 11, 13 *parikasaḍi.*

pari+√dam: "control."

　　paridame[ḍi]: *paridāmyati; (paridameti); "he controls," 3rd sg. pres. 11, 13.

　　paradamita: *paridaṃtvā; (paridametvā); "having controlled," abs. 13.

　　paridamita: *paridaṃtvā; (paridametvā); "having controlled," abs. 11.

-paridev(*a)-: in *śoka~(*dukha-domaṇasta)-[u]ayaṣa.*

paribhaviḍaṇa: paribhūtāni; paribhāvitāni; "nurtured," pp. nom. pl. n. 42.

pari+√muc: 解脱; "release."

　　parimucaḍi: parimuñcati; parimuccati; "he is released," 3rd sg. pres. 26 [4×] *(*pari)[muc](*a)ḍi* [1×] *parimu[c](*aḍi)* [1×], 27.

pari+√jñā: "understand."

   pariyaṇa[t]i: parijānāti; parijānāti; "he understands," 3rd sg. pres. 24.

   pariyaṇadi: parijānāti; parijānāti; "he understands," 3rd sg. pres. 25.

   pariyaṇa: parijānan; parijānaṃ; "understanding," pres. part. nom. sg. m. 26.

   pariyaṇo: parijānan; parijānaṃ; "understanding," pres. part. nom. sg. m. 25.

pariśpeiḏaṇa: parisvedāni; pariseditāni; 餾; "incubated," pp. nom. pl. n. 41.

(*parva)[j](*i)[ḏaṣa]: pravrajitasya; (pabbajitassa); 出家; "of one having gone forth," pp.,
   pra+√vraj, gen. sg. m. 23.

-palaśa-: in *triṇa-ka[ṭha]-śaha-patra~.*

√paś: 見; "see."

   paśaḏi: paśyati; (passati); "he sees," 3rd sg. pres. 10 [3×] *(*paśa)[ḏi]* [1×].

   paśaḏa: paśyataḥ; passato; "one who sees," pres. part. gen. sg. m. 29, 31, 32
      (*pa)[ś](*a)[ḏa].

   paśaṣa: paśyataḥ; passato; "one who sees," pres. part. gen. sg. m. 29.

pa[śpru]ṣa: phupphusa; papphāsaṃ; pho ba; "lungs," nom. sg. n. 3.

pahiṇa: see *pra+√hā.*

(*pita): pittaṃ; pittaṃ; 膽 (MĀ); 汁 (SĀ); *mkhris pa;* "bile," nom. sg. n. 4.

pukharaṇa-rama(*ṇ)e(*a): Skt. *puṣkariṇī-ramaṇīyakaṃ;* BHS *puṣkaraṇī-ramaṇīyakaṃ;*
   (pokkharaṇī-rāmaṇeyyakaṃ); "a delightful lotus pool," acc. sg. n. 12.

pugalaṣa: pudgalasya; (puggalassa); "of a person," gen. sg. m. 4 *[pu]galaṣa,* 7, 9
   pug[al](*aṣa), 14.

-puḍua: in *aṣuyi-puḏi~.*

-puḏi-: in *aṣuyi~puḍua.*

pu[ya]: pūyaḥ; pubbo; 膿; *tshigs;* "pus," nom. sg. m. 4.

(*pura): pūraṃ; pūraṃ; "full," acc. sg. m. 2.

puriṣa: purīṣaṃ; ≠karīsaṃ; 搏糞 (MĀ); 屎 (SĀ); *rtug pa;* "fecal matter," nom. sg. n. 4, 8
   (*pu)riṣa.

[p](*ra)[k](*a)[r](*a)[s](*a): prakārasya; pakārassa; "kind," gen. sg. m. 2.

pra+√hā: 捨離; "abandon."

   pacaa̱sa: prajahatha; pajahatha; "you should abandon," 2nd pl. pres. impv. 17.

   pacaha̱sa: prajahatha; (pajahatha); "you should abandon," 2nd pl. pres. impv. 20, 21.

   pajaa̱sa: prajahatha; pajahatha; spang bar bya ba; "you should abandon," 2nd pl. pres. impv. 16.

   pracae̱sa: prajahatha; pajahatha; "you should abandon," 2nd pl. pres. impv. 20.

   praca⟨ja⟩a̱sa: prajahatha; pajahatha; "you should abandon," 2nd pl. pres. impv. 16.

   pahi̱na: prahīna; pahīnaṃ; spangs nas; "abandoned," pp. nom. sg. n. 20 [2×].

   prahi̱na: prahīna; pahīnaṃ; spangs nas; "abandoned," pp. nom. sg. n. 16 [2×], 17 *(*prahi̱na),* 21 *pra[h](*i̱na).*

praṇihi̱d[e]: praṇihitaṃ; (panihitaṃ); "to be positioned," pp., *pra+ṇi+√dhā,* acc. sg. m. 2.

prati+ava+√īkṣ: "examine."

   *[p](*a)[c](*a)[ekṣ](*a)[ḏi]: pratyavekṣati; paccavekkhati; so sor brtag pa bya ba;* "he examines," 3rd sg. pres. 2.

*[pra]va̱da-ramaṇea: parvata-ramaṇīyakaṃ; (*pabbata-rāmaṇeyyakaṃ);* "a delightful mountain," acc. sg. n. 12.

priao: BHS *plīhakaḥ; pihakaṃ;* 脾; *sul mang;* "spleen," nom. sg. m. 3.

[ba̱da]śa: dvādaśa; dvādasa; "twelve," card. nom. pl. 40.

bala̱na: balānāṃ; balānaṃ; 力; "of the powers," gen. pl. n. 34, 39 *ba[l](*a)[ṇ](*a).*

-bahule: in *ṇivri̱da~.*

-bahulo: in *ṇivri̱da~.*

bejaga̱ṇa: bodhyaṅgānāṃ; bojjhaṅgānaṃ; 覺; "of the factors of awakening," gen. pl. n. 34, 39 *(*beja)ga̱ṇa.*

[bha]ḏa: 6. Interpretation uncertain, see text notes.

bhate: bhavaḥ; bhante; "sir," voc. sg. m. 19 [2×] *(*bhate)* [1×].

bhayavata-: 佛; "Lord," m.

   bhayava: bhagavān; (bhagavā); "Lord," nom. sg. 21, 27^M, 28.

   bhayavata: bhagavantaṃ; (bhagavantaṃ); "to the Lord," acc. sg. 32.

bhavaṇaṇuyoḵa: bhāvanānuyogaṃ; bhāvanānuyogaṃ; 修方便; "engaged in meditation," tp.
   acc. sg. m. 35.

bhaviśaḏi: see √*bhū.*

bhikhu-: 比丘; *dge slong;* "monk," m.

   bhikhu: bhikṣuḥ; bhikkhu; nom. sg. 1, 5, 8 *[bhikh](*u)*, 10, 32.

   bhikhusa: bhikṣu; bhikkhuno; gen. sg. 35.

   bhikhuṇa: bhikṣūṇāṃ; (bhikkhu); gen. pl. 32.

   bhikṣave: bhikṣavaḥ; bhikkhave; voc. pl. 16, 23, 29.

√*bhū:* "be."

   bhoti: bhavati; hoti; "is," 3rd sg. pres. 23.

   bhaviśaḏi: bhaviṣyati; bhavissati; 'gyur; "it will be," 3rd sg. fut. 16 [2×] *bha[vi](*śaḏi)*
      [1×] *bhaviśa⟨*ḏi⟩* [1×], 17, 20 [2×] *bhaviśa(*ḏ)[i]* [1×], 21.

-bhuḏaṣa: in

bhumi-ramaṇea: bhūmi-ramaṇīyakaṃ; (bhūmi-rāmaṇeyyakaṃ); "a delightful grounds," acc.
   sg. n. 12.

bhoti: see √*bhū.*

magaṣa: mārgasya; maggassa; 道; "path," gen. sg. m. 35, 39 *maga[ṣ]a.*

√*man:* "think."

   mañaṣa: manyatha; (maññatha); "you think," 2nd pl. pres. 18.

maṇa: see *idam.*

maraṇa-: 死; "death," n.

   maraṇa-saña-sahagaḏa-ṣamaṣi: maraṇa-saṃjñā-sahagata-samādhi; ≠maraṇa-saññā;
      死想; "the concentration connected with the perception of death," tp. nom. sg. m. 5
      [m](*a)raṇa°, 7 *maraṇa-[sa]ña°.*

   [mar](*a)[ṇ](*a)s(*pa): in *jaḏi-jara-viasi~.*

[m](*a)riśami: mariṣyāmi; (marissāmi); "I will die," √*mṛ* 6 1st sg. fut. 6.

mariśami: see √*mṛ.*

mala: in *kala~.*

*(*masa): māṃsaṃ; māṃsaṃ;* 肉; *sha;* "flesh," nom. sg. n. 3. Reconstruction uncertain, see
   text notes.

masta: mastakaḥ; matthaka; 腦; *glad pa;* "head," nom. sg. m. 4.

*[mast](*aka): mastakaṃ; matthaka;* "tip," acc. sg. m. 2.

*mastal[ug](*a): mastakaluṅgaṃ; matthaluṅga;* 腦根 (MĀ); 腦 (SĀ); "brain," nom. sg. n. 4.

mula: in *rukṣa-mula-gaḏa.*

√mṛ: "die."

   mariśami: mariṣyāmi; (marissāmi); "I will die," 1st sg. fut. 6 [2×], *[m](*a)riśami* [1×].

*[m](*e):* see *aho.*

*(*meḏa): medas; medo;* 脂 (SĀ); *tshil;* "fat," nom. sg. n. 4. Reconstruction uncertain, see
   text notes.

ya-: 所; "what, which," rel. pron.

   ya: yat; yaṃ; gang; nom. sg. n. 4 *[ya],* 7, 9, 14 *(*ya),* 16, 19, 23 *[ya].*

   yo: yaṃ; yaṃ; nom. sg. n. 17.

*(*yaḵaṇa): yakṛt; yakanaṃ;* 肝; *mcher pa;* "liver," nom. sg. n. 3. Reconstruction uncertain,
   see text notes.

yaṣa: yathā; (yathā); "as," ind. 1, 2.

yaṣa-pacea: yathā-pratyaya; yathā-paccayaṃ; "according to need," adv. 18
   *(*yaṣapa)[c](*e)[a],* 19.

-ramaṇea: in *arama~, ṇaḏi~, pukharaṇa~, pravaḏa~, bhumi~, vaṇa~.*

√ram: "take pleasure."

   ramaḏi: ramati; (ramati); "he takes pleasure," 3rd sg. pres. 11, 13, 14 *[r](*amaḏi).*

raya: rajaḥ; (rajo); 塵; "dust," nom. sg. n. 3. Interpretation uncertain, see text notes.

rua-: 色; *gzugs;* "form," n.

   ruo: rūpaṃ; rūpaṃ; nom. sg. 16 *[r]uo,* 20, 30.

   rua: rūpaṃ; rūpaṃ; acc. sg. 25.

   ruo: rūpaṃ; rūpaṃ; acc. sg. 24.

r[u](*aspa): rūpāt; rūpaṃ; abl. sg. 26.

ruasa: rūpasya; rūpaṃ; gen. sg. 30 [2×] *ru[as](*a)* [1×].

ruo: rūpe; rūpe; loc. sg. 23, 24.

rukṣa-mula-gaḏa: vṛkṣa-mūla-gataḥ; (rukkha-mūla-gato); (shing drung…du song ste); "at the root of a tree," bv. nom. sg. m. 1 *rukṣa-[mul](*a)-[g](*aḏa),* 5–6.

rmaḏo: mṛdu; (muduṃ); "pliant," acc. sg. n. 11 [2×] *(*rmaḏo)* [1×], 13 [2×] *[rmaḏ](*o)* [1×].

(*la)[s](*i)[k]ae: lasīkā; lasikā; 沫? (SĀ); *chu ser;* "joint-fluids," nom. sg. f. 4.

loga: in *sarva~.*

loge: in *sarva~.*

loma: romā; lomā; 毛; *ba spu;* "body hair," nom. sg. n. 3.

[lohiḏ](*a): lohitaṃ; lohitaṃ; 血; *khrag;* "blood," nom. sg. n. 4.

va: vā; vā; 而; "or," ind. 1 [3×] *(*va)* [1×], 6 [3×], 10 [3×] *[v](*a)* [1×], 12 [6×] *(*va)* [1×], 18 [3×] *[v](*a)* [1×], *(*va)* [1×], 19 [5×], 40 [3×].

(*vaka): vṛkkā; vakkaṃ; 腎; *mkhal ma;* "kidney," nom. sg. m. 3. Reconstruction uncertain, see text notes.

√*vac:* 説; "speak."

vucaḏi: ucyate; vuccati; "is called," 3rd sg. pres. pass. 5 *[v]ucaḏi,* 7 *(*vuca)[ḏi],* 9, 14.

vujaḏi: ucyate; vuccati; "is called," √*vac* 2 3rd sg. pres. pass. 8.

eyi: avocat; (avoca); "he said," 3rd sg. pret. 21, 27 *e[yi].*

[o]ya: avocat; (avoca); "he said," 3rd sg. pret. 32.

vacaṇio: vacanīyaṃ; vacanīyaṃ; "it must be said," gdv. 33 *(*vaca)[ṇ]io,* 37 *(*vacaṇ)[io].*

vaṇa-ramaṇea: vana-ramaṇīyakaṃ; (vana-rāmaṇeyyakaṃ); "a delightful grove," acc. sg. n. 12.

vata: vāntaṃ; (vantaṃ); "vomit," nom. sg. n. 8.

[vaḏa]: bata; vata; "oh," ind. 36.

√*vad:* "say."

vaḏemi: vadāmi; vadāmi; "I say," 1st sg. pres. 27, 29 [2×], 31.

vade̱si: vadasi; (vadasi); "you say," 2nd sg. pres. 32.

(*vasa): vasā; vasā; 肪; *zhag;* "grease," nom. sg. f. 4. Reconstruction uncertain, see text
notes.

-viasi-: in *ja̱di-jara~mar(*a)ṇ(*a)s(*pa).*

viñaṇa-: 識; *rnam par shes pa;* "perceptual consciousness," n.

    viñaṇa: vijñānaṃ; viññāṇaṃ; nom. sg. 17, 21.

    viñaṇo: vijñānaṃ; viññāṇaṃ; nom. sg. 30.

    viñaṇa: vijñāna; viññāṇaṃ; acc. sg. 25 *(*vi)[ñ](*a)[ṇ](*a),* 26.

    viñaṇa̱sa: vijñānāt; viññāṇamhā; abl.! sg. 26, 30–1, 31. See § 6.1.1.2.

    [v](*i)[ñ](*a)[ṇ](*e): vijñāne; viññāṇaṃ; loc. sg. 25.

    -viñaṇa: in *ve̱daṇa-saña-̱sakhara~.*

    -viñaṇe: in *ve̱daṇa-saña-̱sakhara~.*

vi+√muc: 解脱; "liberate."

    vimuca̱di: vimucyate; vimuccati; "is liberated," 3rd sg. pres. pass. 33, 37.

    vimucea: vimuñcet; vimucceyyā; "may be liberated," 3rd sg. pres. opt. pass. 36.

vi+hṛ: 住; "stay, live."

    v(*i)hara⟨*di⟩: viharati; viharati; "he is staying," 3rd sg. pres. 28.

    viharea: viharet; vihareyya; "he should live," *vi+√hṛ* 1 3rd sg. Pres. opt. 24.

    (*vi)[ha]rea: viharet; vihareyya; "he should live," *vi+√hṛ* 1 3rd sg. pres. opt. 24.

    viharate: viharan; viharanto; "living," pres. part. nom. sg. m. 24, 25 *(*viharate).*

    vihara̱de: viharataḥ viharato; "for one living," pres. part. gen. sg. m. 35–36.

vuca̱di: see *√vac.*

vuja̱di: see *√vac.*

ve̱daṇa-: 受; *tshor ba;* "feeling," f.

    ve̱daṇa: vedanā; vedanā; nom. sg. 21.

    ve̱daṇe: vedanā; vedanā; nom. sg. 17.

    [v](*e̱da)[ṇ]o: vedanā; vedanā; nom. sg. 30.

    ve̱da[ṇa]: vedanāṃ; vedanā; acc. sg. 25.

ve̱dana: vedanāyāḥ; vedanāya; abl. sg. 26.

[ve̱d](*a)[ṇe]: vedanāyāṃ; vedanā; loc. sg. 25.

ve̱da[ṇ](*a)-[s](*a)[ñ](*a)-sakhara-viñana: vedanā-saṃjñā-saṃskāra-vijñānaṃ; (vedana-saññā-saṅkhara-viññāṇam); "feeling, perception, volitional formations, and perceptual consciousness," dv. acc. sg. n. 25–6.

ve̱dana-saña-s̱akhara-vi[ña]ṇe: vedanā-saṃjñā-saṃskāra-vijñāne; (vedana-saññā-saṅkhara-viññāṇe); "with respect to feeling, perception, volitional formations, and perceptual consciousness," dv. loc. sg. n. 24.

śavasti-: 舍衛國 "Śrāvastī," f.

śavasti: śrāvastyāṃ; sāvatthi; "in Śrāvastī," loc. sg. 28.

śava[st]i-ṇi̱dạṇe: śrāvastī-nidāna; sāvatthi-nidānaṃ; "the Śrāvastī setting," kdh. nom. sg. n. 15.

śava[st]i-ṇi: śrāvastī-nidāna; sāvatthi-nidānaṃ; "the Śrāvastī setting," kdh. nom. sg. n. 15. 22.

-śaha-: in *triṇa-ka[ṭha]~patra-palaśa.*

śigaṇa: siṅghāṇakaḥ; singhāṇikā; 涎 (MĀ); 洟 (SĀ); *snabs;* "mucus," nom. sg. f. 4.

(*śileśpa): śleṣmā; semhaṃ; 痰 (SĀ); *bad kan;* "phlegm," nom. sg. m. 4. Reconstruction uncertain, see text notes.

śuñagara-ga̱da: śūnyāgara-gataḥ; (suññāgara-gato); (khang stong du song ste); "in an empty house," bv. nom. sg. m. 1 *(*śu)[ñ](*a)[g](*a)ra-ga̱da,* 6.

śo̱ka-paridev(*a- dukha-domaṇasta)-[u]ayạs̱a: śoka-parideva-duḥkha-daurmanasya-upāyāsāt; sokehi paridevehi dukkhehi domanassehi upāyāsehi; 憂悲惱苦; "grief, lamentations, suffering, despair and frustration," dv. abl. sg. m. 27.

śpe̱da: svedaḥ; sedo; 汗; *rngul;* "sweat," nom. sg. m. 4.

ṣadha: śraddhāyāḥ; (saddhāya); "out of faith," abl. sg. f. 23.

ṣadhasa: śraddhasya; saddhā; "one having faith," gen. sg. m. 23.

s̱a: see √*as.*

sakhara-: 行; *'du byed;* "conditioned forces," m.

    sakhara: saṃskārāḥ; saṅkhārā; nom. pl. 17, 21 s̲akhara.

    s̲akhare: saṃskārāḥ; saṅkhārā; nom. pl. 30. See § 6.1.1.2.

    sakhara: saṃskāran; saṅkhārā; acc. pl. 26.

    sakhare: saṃskārebhyaḥ; saṅkhārehi; abl. pl. 26.

    [s̲](*a)[kh](*a)[re]: saṃskāreṣu; saṅkhārā; loc. pl. 25. Reading uncertain, see text notes
        and § 6.1.1.2.

    -s̲akhara-: in *ved̲aṇa-saña~viñaṇa.*

    -s̲akhara-: in *ved̲aṇa-saña~viñaṇe.*

saña-: 想; *'du shes;* "perception," f.

    saña: saṃjñā; saññā; nom. sg. 17, 21.

    sañe: saṃjñā; saññā; nom. sg. 30.

    [s](*a)[ñ](*a): saṃjñāṃ; saññā; acc. sg. 25.

    [s](*a)[ñ](*a): saṃjñāṃ; saññā; acc. sg. 25.

    saña: saṃjñāyāḥ; saññāya; abl. sg. 26.

    [sañe]: saṃjñāyāṃ; saññā; loc. sg. 25.

    -saña-: in *aṇavirad̲a~sahagad̲a-samas̲i.*

    -s̲aña-: in *aśua~sahagad̲a-s̲amas̲i.*

    -saña-: in *paḍikula~s̲ahagad̲a-s̲amas̲i.*

    -saña-: in *maraṇa~sahagad̲a-s̲amas̲i.*

    -saña-: in *ved̲aṇa~sakhara-viñaṇa.*

    -saña-: in *ved̲aṇa~s̲akhara-viñaṇe.*

sataṇa: saptānāṃ; (sattannaṃ); "of seven," card. gen. pl. 34, 39 *(*sataṇa).*

samaeṇa: samayena; (samayena); with *avareṇa,* "some time later," adv. 12, 13 s̲amaeṇa.

s̲amas̲i-: "concentration" m.

    s̲amas̲i-: in *aṇavirad̲a-saña-sahagad̲a~.*

    s̲amas̲i-: in *aśua-s̲aña-sahagad̲a~.*

    s̲amas̲i-: in *paḍikula-saña-s̲ahagad̲a~.*

s̱amas̱i-: in *maraṇa-saña-sahagaḏa~.*

samuḏaa-: 集; "arising," m.

    s̱amuḏaa: samudayaḥ; samudayo; nom. sg. 30.

    s̱amuḏae: samudayaḥ; samudayo; 集; "arising," nom. sg. 31.

same: samyak; sammā; "properly," adv. 41 [2×], 42.

same-pas̱aṇaṇa: samyakprahāṇānāṃ; sammappadhānānaṃ; 正勤; "right strivings," gen. pl. n. 34, 38.

sayas̱avi: BHS *sayyathāpi; seyyathāpi;* 譬如; "just as if," adv. 17, 40.

[s](*a)[y](*a)[siḏ](*a): sayyathīdaṃ; (seyyatthidaṃ); 謂; "to wit.," adv. 29.

(*s̄aru): snāyuḥ; nhāru; 筋; *chu ba;* "sinews," nom. sg. n. 3. Reconstruction uncertain, see text notes.

sarva-: "all, entire," adj.

    sarva-loga: sarva-loka; sabba-loka; "in the entire world," kdh. loc. sg. m. 10.

    sarva-loge: sarva-loka; sabba-loka; "in the entire world," kdh. loc. sg. m. 14–14^M.

sarvaḏatavi: sarvatas; (sabbato); "in every respect," adv. 14.

sarvaḏo: sarvatas; (sabbato); "everywhere," adv. 14.

sahagaḏa-: "connected with" adj.

-sahagaḏa-: in *aṇaviraḏa-saña~s̱amas̱i.*

-sahagaḏa-: in *aśua-s̱aña~s̱amas̱i.*

-sahagaḏa-: in *paḍikula-saña~s̱amas̱i.*

-sahagaḏa-: in *maraṇa-saña~s̱amas̱i.*

suhae: sukhaye; sukhāya; 樂; *bde ba;* "ease," dat. sg. n. 16 [2×], 17 *[su]hae,* 20 [2×], 21 *(*suha)[e].*

se: see *ta-.*

so: see *ta-.*

spaḏoṭhaṇaṇa: smr̥tyupasthānānāṃ; satipaṭṭhānānaṃ; 念處; "foundations of mindfulness," gen. pl. n. 33–34, 38 *(*spaḏoṭha)ṇaṇa.*

haraḏi: see √hr̥.

harea: see √*hṛ.*

[hi](*ḏa): P *hetaṃ;* with *no,* "not so," ind. 19.

hiḏae: hitaye; hitāya; ≠安; *phan pa;* "benefit," dat. sg. n. 16 [2×], 17 *(*h)[i]ḏae,* 20 [2×], 21 *(*hiḏae).*

hiḏam: see *iḏam-.*

[hiḏ](*aa): hṛdayaṃ; hadayaṃ; 心; *snying;* "heart," nom. sg. n. 3.

hidriaṇa: indriyānāṃ; (indriyānaṃ); 根; "mental faculties," gen. pl. n. 34. See *idriaṇa.*

himaspi: see *iḏam-.*

hirdhaupaḏaṇa: ṛddhipādānāṃ; iddhipādānaṃ; "bases of supernatural power," gen. pl. m. 34 *hirdhaa.[p](*aḏaṇa),* 38.

hu: khalu; kho; "indeed," ind. 20.

√*hṛ:* 擔持; "carry off."

  [h](*a)[r](*a)[ḏi]: harati; harati; "carries off," 3rd sg. pres. 19.

  hare[a]: haret; hareyya; "may carry off," 3rd sg. pres. opt. 18.

°*:* 21.

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APPENDIX A
The Pāli Parallels to the Gāndhārī Sūtras

The following edition of the Pāli parallels to the Gāndhārī sūtras edited in this work is based on the European PTS edition (Eᵉ). The reading has been compared with the other modern printed editions: Burmese Chaṭṭhasaṅgāyana (Bᵉ); Khmer (Khᵉ); Nālandā (Nᵉ); Sri Lanka (Cᵉ); Thai King of Siam (Sᵉ); and the Vipassana Research Institute Devanāgarī edition (VRIᵉ). Passages abbreviated in the various editions have been restored and underlined.

Excerpt from the Girimānanda-sutta (AN V 109.18–27)[1]

katamā c'ānanda asubhasaññā. idha'ānanda bhikkhu imam eva kāyaṃ uddhaṃ pādatalā adho kesamatthakā tacapariyantaṃ pūraṃ[2] nānappakārassa[3] asucino paccavekkhati 'atthi imasmiṃ kāye kesā lomā nakhā dantā taco maṃsaṃ nhārū[4] aṭṭhī[5] aṭṭhimiñjā[6] vakkaṃ hadayaṃ yakanaṃ kilomakaṃ pihakaṃ papphāsaṃ antaṃ antaguṇaṃ udariyaṃ karīsaṃ pittaṃ semhaṃ pubbo lohitaṃ sedo medo assu vasā kheḷo siṅghāṇikā lasikā muttan'ti[7]. iti imasmiṃ kāye asubhānupassī viharati. ayaṃ vuccat'ānanda, asubhasaññā.

Excerpt from the Girimānanda-sutta

"And what, Ānanda, is the perception of foulness? In regard to this, Ānanda, a monk who is in the wilderness, or at the root of a tree, or in an empty house, examines this very body, upwards from the sole of the foot, downwards from the tip of the hair, covered with skin, full of impurity of various kinds. There is in this body: head hair, body hair, nails, teeth, flesh, sinews, bones, bone marrow, kidney, heart, liver, pleura, spleen, lungs, small intestine, large instestine, stomach, fecal matter, bile, phlegm, pus, blood, sweat, fat, tear fluid, grease, saliva,

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[1] Other editions consulted: Bᵉ III 343.10–7; Cᵉ VI 196.13–21; Nᵉ III 186.17–23; Sᵉ V 117.1–7; VRIᵉ III 11.8–13.

[2] Sᵉ reads *pūran*.

[3] Bᵉ, Nᵉ and VRIᵉ read *nānāppakārassa*.

[4] Bᵉ, Cᵉ, Nᵉ and VRIᵉ read *nhāru*.

[5] Bᵉ, Cᵉ, Nᵉ and VRIᵉ read *aṭṭhi*.

[6] Eᵉ, Bᵉ, Nᵉ and VRIᵉ read *aṭṭhimiñjaṃ*.

[7] Nᵉ reads *muttaṃ'ti*.

snot, fluid of the joints, and urine. He lives contemplating the foulness in this body. This, Ānanda, is called the perception of foulness."

The Natumhāka-sutta (SN III 33.20–34.17)[8]

evaṃ me sutaṃ. ekaṃ samayaṃ bhagavā sāvatthiyaṃ viharati jetavane anāthapiṇḍikassa ārāme. tatra kho bhagavā bhikkhū āmantesi bhikkhavo ti. bhadante ti te bhikkhū bhagavato paccassosuṃ. bhagavā etad avoca.[9] yaṃ[10] bhikkhave na tumhākaṃ taṃ pajahatha. taṃ vo pahīnaṃ hitāya sukhāya bhavissati. kiñca bhikkhave na tumhākaṃ. rūpaṃ bhikkhave na tumhākaṃ taṃ pajahatha. taṃ vo pahīnaṃ hitāya sukhāya bhavissati. vedanā na tumhākaṃ taṃ pajahatha. sā vo pahīnā hitāya sukhāya bhavissati.[11] saññā na tumhākaṃ taṃ pajahatha. sā vo pahīnā hitāya sukhāya bhavissati.[12] saṅkhārā na tumhākaṃ te pajahatha. te vo pahīnā hitāya sukhāya bhavissanti.[13] viññāṇaṃ na tumhākaṃ taṃ pajahatha. taṃ vo pahīnaṃ hitāya sukhāya bhavissati[14].

seyyathāpi bhikkhave yaṃ imasmiṃ jetavane tiṇakaṭṭhasākhāpalāsaṃ taṃ jano hareyya vā ḍaheyya va yathāpaccayaṃ vā kareyya api nu tumhākaṃ evam assa amhe jano harati vā ḍahati vā yathāpaccayaṃ vā karotī ti.

no hetaṃ bhante. taṃ kissa hetu. na hi no etaṃ bhante attā vā attaniyaṃ vā ti. evaṃ eva kho bhikkhave[15] rūpaṃ na tumhākaṃ taṃ pajahatha. taṃ vo[16] pahīnaṃ hitāya sukhāya bhavissati. vedanā na tumhākaṃ taṃ pajahatha. sā vo pahīnā hitāya sukhāya bhavissati.[17] saññā na tumhākaṃ taṃ pajahatha. sā vo pahīnā hitāya sukhāya bhavissati.[18] saṅkhārā na

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[8] Other editions consulted: Bᵉ II 28.3–18; Cᵉ III 60.4–23; Khᵉ 33 75.1–77.4; Nᵉ II 267.15–268.8; Sᵉ III 42.2–19; VRIᵉ II 31.19–32.13.

[9] The nidāna is abbreviated differently in the modern editions: *sāvatthinidānaṃ* (Bᵉ; Nᵉ; VRIᵉ); *sāvatthiyaṃ. tatra kho* (Sᵉ; Khᵉ); *sāvatthi tatra voca* (Eᵉ); *sāvatthiyaṃ tatra kho bhagavā bhikkhū āmantesi 'bhikkhavo'ti 'bhadante'ti te bhikkhū bhagavato paccassosuṃ. bhagavā etadavoca* (Cᵉ).

[10] Here and in the following Eᵉ reads *m* where all other editions have anusvara.

[11] Cᵉ abbreviates *vedanā pe.*

[12] Eᵉ and Cᵉ abbreviate *saññā pe.* Bᵉ, Khᵉ, Nᵉ, Sᵉ, VRIᵉ abbreviate to *saññā na tumhākaṃ.*

[13] Cᵉ abbreviates *saṅkhārā pe.*

[14] Cᵉ reads *bhavissatīti.*

[15] Nᵉ has a misprint *bhikkhava.*

[16] Eᵉ has a footnote: "Missing in S¹⁻³".

[17] Eᵉ abbreviates *vedanā na tumhākam;* Cᵉ reads *vedanā na tumhākaṃ pe.*

[18] Eᵉ abbreviates *saññā;* Cᵉ reads *saññā na tumhākaṃ pe.* Bᵉ, Khᵉ, Nᵉ, Sᵉ, VRIᵉ read *saññā na*

tumhākaṃ te pajahatha. te vo pahīnā hitāya sukhāya bhavissanti.[19] *viññāṇaṃ na tumhākaṃ tam pajahatha. taṃ vo*[20] *pahīnaṃ hitāya sukhāya bhavissatī ti*[21]

The "Not yours" sutta

Thus have I heard: at one time the Lord was dwelling in Sāvatthī, in the Jeta grove, in Anāthapiṇḍika's park. Then the Lord said to the monks: "monks," "Venerable one," the monks replied to the Lord. The Lord said this. What, monks, is not yours, abandon it. When abandoned by you, that will be for [your] benefit and ease. And what, monks, is not yours? Form, monks, is not yours; abandon it. When abandoned by you, that will be for [your] benefit and ease. Feeling is not yours; abandon it. When abandoned by you, that will be for [your] benefit and ease. Understanding is not yours; formations are not yours; abandon them, when abandoned by you, that will be for [your] benefit and ease. Perceptual consciousness is not yours; abandon it, when abandoned by you, that will be for [your] benefit and ease.

[It is] just as if, monks, people were to carry off, or burn, or do as they please with the grass, sticks, branches, and foliage in this Jeta-grove. Would it seem to you that: "People carry us off, or burn us, or do with as they please [with us]!"

"Surely not, Sir." Why not? "Indeed, this is not our self or something belonging to the self." In exactly this way, monks, form is not yours; abandon it. When abandoned by you, that will be for [your] benefit and ease. Feeling is not yours; abandon it. When abandoned by you, that will be for [your] benefit and ease. Understanding is not yours; abandon it. Formations are not yours; Perceptual consciousness is not yours; abandon it. When abandoned, that will be for [your] benefit and ease.

The Nibbidābahula-sutta (SN III 179.11–26)[22]

evaṃ me sutaṃ ekaṃ samayaṃ. bhagavā sāvatthiyaṃ viharati jetavane anāthapiṇḍikassa ārāme. tatra kho bhagavā bhikkhū āmantesi bhikkhavo ti. bhadante ti te bhikkhū bhagavato

tumhākaṃ.
[19] All editions abbreviate to *saṅkhārā na tumhākaṃ.* Cᵉ includes *pe.*
[20] Eᵉ reads *taṃ hi vo.*
[21] B bhavissati
[22] Other editions consulted: Bᵉ II 147.14–23; Cᵉ III 320.3–15; Khᵉ 34 51.7–52.8; Nᵉ II 392.8–18; Sᵉ III 219.2–12; VRIᵉ II 163.17–164.4.

paccassosuṃ. bhagavā etad avoca. [23] *saddhāpabbajitassa bhikkhave kulaputtassa ayam anudhammo hoti. yaṃ rūpe nibbidābahulo*[24] *vihareyya. vedanāya nibbidābahulo vihareyya*[25]*. saññāya nibbidābahulo vihareyya* [26]. *saṅkhāresu nibbidābahulo vihareyya.* [27] *viññāṇe nibbidābahulo*[28] *vihareyya.*

so [29] *rūpe nibbidābahulo* [30] *viharanto. vedanāya nibbidābahulo viharanto* [31]. *saññāya nibbidābahulo viharanto*[32]. *saṅkhāresu nibbidābahulo viharanto*[33]. *viññāṇe nibbidābahulo*[34] *viharanto rūpaṃ* [35] *parijānāti. vedanaṃ parijānāti* [36]. *saññaṃ parijānāti* [37]. *saṅkhāre parijānāti*[38]. *viññāṇaṃ*[39] *parijānāti*[40].

so rūpaṃ[41] *parijānaṃ. vedanaṃ parijānaṃ*[42]. *saññaṃ parijānaṃ*[43]. *saṅkhāre parijānaṃ*[44]. *viññāṇaṃ parijānaṃ parimuccati rūpamhā. parimuccati vedanāya*[45]. *parimuccati saññāya.*

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[23] The nidāna is abbreviated differently in the modern editions: *sāvatthinidānaṃ* (B^e; N^e; VRI^e); *sāvatthī. tatra kho* (S^e; Kh^e); *sāvatthi* (E^e); *sāvatthiyaṃ* (C^e).

[24] E^e reads *nibbidā bahulaṃ;* C^e reads *nibbidā bihulaṃ* [Sic] with footnote "nibbidā bahuleṃ [Sic]– machasaṃ"; Kh^e & S^e read *nibbidābahulaṃ.*

[25] B^e abbreviates *vedanāya pa;* C^e, N^e abbreviate *vedanāya pe;* E^e, Kh^e & S^e abbreviate to *vedanāya;* VRI^e expands: *vedanāya nibbidābahulo vihareyya.*

[26] C^e abbreviates *saññāya pe;* all other editions have simply *saññāya.*

[27] C^e expands to *saṅkhāresu nibbidābahulaṃ vihareyya;* all other editions have simply *saṅkhāresu.*

[28] E^e reads *nibbidā bahulaṃ;* C^e, Kh^e & S^e read *nibbidābahulaṃ.*

[29] B^e, Kh^e, N^e, S^e & VRI^e read *yo.*

[30] E^e reads *nibbidā bahulaṃ;* C^e, Kh^e & S^e read *nibbidābahulaṃ.*

[31] VRI^e reads in full: *vedanāya nibbidābahulo viharanto*; C^e abbreviates *vedanāya pe;* all other editions have simply *vedanāya.*

[32] C^e abbreviates *saññāya pe;* all other editions have simply *saññāya.*

[33] C^e abbreviates *saṅkhāresu pe;* all other editions have simply *saṅkhāresu.*

[34] E^e reads *nibbidā bahulaṃ;* C^e, Kh^e & S^e read *nibbidābahulaṃ.*

[35] E^e reads *rūpam.*

[36] C^e and VRI^e expand: *vedanaṃ parijānāti.*

[37] C^e expands: *saññaṃ parijānāti.*

[38] C^e expands: *saṅkhāre parijānāti.*

[39] E^e reads with misprint here *viññaṇam.*

[40] E^e reads with misprint here *parijanāti.*

[41] E^e reads *rūpam.*

[42] E^e abbreviates by omitting *parijānaṃ.* Kh^e & S^e mark omission of *parijānaṃ* with *pe.*

[43] E^e, Kh^e & S^e abbreviate by omitting *parijānaṃ.*

[44] E^e, Kh^e & S^e abbreviate by omitting *parijānaṃ.*

[45] E^e repeats *parimuccati vedanāya.*

parimuccati saṅkhārehi. parimuccati viññāṇamhā. parimuccati jātiyā jarāya maraṇena[46] *sokehi paridevehi dukkhehi domanassehi upāyāsehi. parimuccati dukkhasmā ti vadāmī ti.*[47]

The "Full of disgust" sutta

Thus have I heard: at one time the Lord was dwelling in Sāvatthī, in the Jeta grove, in Anāthapiṇḍika's park. Then the Lord said to the monks: "monks," "Venerable one," the monks replied to the Lord. The Lord said this. Monks, for a noble son who has gone forth out of faith, this accords with the Dharma: That he should live full of disgust with respect to form. He should live full of disgust with respect to feeling, perception, volitional formations, and consciousness.

Living full of disgust with respect to form, living full of disgust with respect to feeling, perception, volitional formations, and consciousness, he fully understands form, he fully understands feeling, perception, volitional formations, and consciousness.

Fully understanding form, fully understanding feeling, fully understanding perception, fully understanding volitional formations, and fully understanding consciousness, he is released from form, he is released from feeling, he is released from perception, he is released from volitional formations, and he is released from consciousness. He is released from birth, ageing, sickness and death, grief, lamentations, sufferings, despairs, and frustrations. He is freed from suffering, I say.

The Vāsijaṭa-sutta (SN III 152.25–155.12)[48]

evam me sutam ekaṃ samayaṃ. bhagavā sāvatthiyaṃ viharati jetavane anāthapiṇḍikassa ārāme. tatra kho bhagavā bhikkhū āmantesi bhikkhavo ti. bhadante ti te bhikkhū bhagavato paccassosuṃ. bhagavā etad avoca.[49] *jānato haṃ*[50]*, bhikkhave, passato āsavānaṃ khayaṃ*

[46] Eᵉ & Cᵉ read *jarāmaraṇena*.

[47] Bᵉ & VRIᵉ add *ekādasamaṃ*.

[48] Other editions consulted: Bᵉ II 124.11–126.14; Cᵉ III 262.3–266.22; Khᵉ 33 346.1–351.12; Nᵉ II 368.4–370.10; Sᵉ III 185.11–189.3; VRIᵉ II 137.2–169.7.

[49] The nidāna is abbreviated differently in the modern editions: *sāvatthinidānaṃ* (Bᵉ, Nᵉ, VRIᵉ); *sāvatthiyaṃ* (Khᵉ); *sāvatthi* (Eᵉ); *sāvatthī* (Sᵉ); *sāvatthiyaṃ* (Cᵉ).

[50] Bᵉ Nᵉ & VRIᵉ read *ahaṃ*.

vadāmi. no ajānato no[51] *apassato. kiñ ca, bhikkhave, jānato kiṃ passato āsavānaṃ khayo hoti.*
iti rūpaṃ iti rūpassa samudayo iti rūpassa atthagamo[52]. *iti vedanā. pe.*[53] *iti saññā. iti*
saṅkhārā. iti viññāṇaṃ iti viññāṇassa samudayo iti viññāṇassa[54] *atthagamo*[55] *ti. evaṃ kho,*
bhikkhave, jānato evaṃ passato āsavānaṃ khayo hoti.

bhāvanānuyogaṃ[56] *ananuyuttassa, bhikkhave, bhikkhuno viharato kiñcāpi*[57] *evaṃ icchā*
uppajjeyya, aho vata me anupādāya āsavehi cittaṃ vimucceyyā ti, atha khvassa neva
anupādāya āsavehi cittaṃ vimuccati. taṃ kissa hetu. abhāvitattā tissa vacanīyaṃ. kissa
abhāvitattā.[58] *abhāvitattā catunnaṃ satipaṭṭhānānaṃ*[59] *, abhāvitattā catunnaṃ samma-*
ppadhānānaṃ, abhāvitattā catunnaṃ iddhipādānaṃ, abhāvitattā pañcannaṃ[60] *indriyānaṃ,*
abhāvitattā pañcannaṃ balānaṃ, abhāvitattā sattannaṃ bojjhaṅgānaṃ, abhāvitattā ariyassa
aṭṭhaṅgikassa maggassa.

seyyathāpi, bhikkhave, kukkuṭiyā aṇḍāni aṭṭha vā dasa vā dvādasa vā tānassu kukkuṭiyā
na sammā adhisayitāni, na sammā pariseditāni, na sammā paribhāvitāni. kiñcāpi tassā
kukkuṭiyā evaṃ icchā uppajjeyya. aho vata me kukkuṭapotakā pādanakhasikhāya vā
mukhatuṇḍakena vā aṇḍakosaṃ padāletvā sotthinā abhinibbhijjeyyun ti[61]. *atha kho abhabbā*[62]
va[63] *te kukkuṭapotakā pādanakhasikhāya vā mukhatuṇḍakena vā aṇḍakosaṃ padāletvā*
sotthinā abhinibbhijjituṃ. taṃ kissa hetu. tathā hi pana[64], *bhikkhave, kukkuṭiyā aṇḍāni aṭṭha*
vā dasa vā dvādasa vā, tāni[65] *kukkuṭiyā*[66] *na sammā adhisayitāni na sammā pariseditāni na*

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[51] Eᵉ omits *no*.
[52] Bᵉ, Khᵉ, Nᵉ, Sᵉ, & VRIᵉ read *atthaṅgamo*.
[53] Sᵉ & Khᵉ abbreviate to *vedanā* without *pe*. Nᵉ & VRIᵉ read *vedanā iti vedanāya samudayo iti vedanāya atthaṅgamo*.
[54] Eᵉ has the footnote "S¹ omits iti viññāṇassa".
[55] Bᵉ, Khᵉ, Nᵉ, Sᵉ & VRIᵉ read *atthaṅgamo*.
[56] Cᵉ reads *ᵒyogamanuᵒ*.
[57] Eᵉ has the footnote "S¹⁻³ kiñcipi".
[58] Cᵉ reads *kissa abhāvitattā, abhāvitattā tissa vacanīyaṃ*.
[59] Khᵉ reads *satippaṭṭhānānaṃ*.
[60] Here and elsewhere Eᵉ reads with *m* not *ṃ*.
[61] Nᵉ reads *ᵒeyyuṃ ti*.
[62] Sᵉ has the footnote "po. abūtepubbā".
[63] Bᵉ, Sᵉ & VRIᵉ read *abhabbāva;* Cᵉ reads *abhabbā'va*.
[64] Eᵉ has the footnote "S¹⁻³ tathāgamūti here and further on (No. 15)".
[65] Nᵉ has the footnote "tānassu – Syā." So in Sᵉ & Khᵉ.
[66] Eᵉ has the footnote "S¹⁻³ kukkuṭiyānaṃ".

sammā paribhāvitāni. evam eva kho, bhikkhave, bhāvanānuyogaṃ ananuyuttassa bhikkhuno viharato kiñcāpi evaṃ icchā uppajjeyya. aho vata me anupādāya āsavehi cittaṃ vimucceyyā ti. atha khvassa[67] *neva anupādāya āsavehi cittaṃ vimuccati. taṃ kissa hetu. abhāvitattā tissa vacanīyaṃ. kissa abhāvitattā. abhāvitattā catunnaṃ satipaṭṭhānānaṃ*[68], <u>*abhāvitattā catunnaṃ sammappadhānānam, abhāvitattā catunnaṃ iddhipādānaṃ, abhāvitattā pañcannaṃ indriyānaṃ, abhāvitattā pañcannaṃ balānaṃ, abhāvitattā sattannaṃ bojjhaṅgānaṃ, abhāvitattā ariyassa*[69]</u> *aṭṭhaṅgikassa maggassa.*

bhāvanānuyogaṃ anuyuttassa bhikkhave bhikkhuno viharato kiñcāpi na[70] *evaṃ icchā uppajjeyya. aho vata me anupādāya āsavehi cittaṃ vimucceyyā ti atha khvassa anupādāya āsavehi cittaṃ vimuccati. taṃ kissa hetu bhāvitattā tissa vacanīyaṃ. kissa bhāvitattā. bhāvitattā catunnaṃ satipaṭṭhānānaṃ*[71], *bhāvitattā catunnaṃ sammappadhānānaṃ, bhāvitattā catunnaṃ iddhipādānaṃ, bhāvitattā pañcannaṃ indriyānaṃ, bhāvitattā pañcannaṃ balānaṃ, bhāvitattā sattannaṃ bojjhaṅgānaṃ, bhāvitattā ariyassa aṭṭhaṅgikassa maggassa.*

seyyathāpi, bhikkhave, kukkuṭiyā aṇḍāni aṭṭha vā dasa vā dvādasa vā, tānassu kukkuṭiyā sammā adhisayitāni, sammā pariseditāni, sammā paribhāvitāni. kiñcāpi tassā kukkuṭiyā na evaṃ icchā uppajjeyya. aho vata me kukkuṭapotakā pādanakhasikhāya vā mukhatuṇḍakena vā aṇḍakosaṃ padāletvā sotthinā abhinibbhijjeyyun ti[72]*. atha kho bhabbā va*[73] *te kukkuṭapotakā*[74] *pādanakhasikhāya vā*[75] *mukhatuṇḍakena vā aṇḍakosaṃ padāletvā sotthinā abhinibbhijjituṃ. taṃ kissa hetu. tathā hi pana, bhikkhave, kukkuṭiyā aṇḍāni aṭṭha vā dasa vā dvādasa vā, tāni*[76] *kukkuṭiyā sammā adhisayitāni, sammā pariseditāni, sammā paribhāvitāni.*

evam eva kho, bhikkhave, bhāvanānuyogaṃ[77] *anuyuttassa bhikkhuno viharato kiñcāpi na evaṃ icchā uppajjeyya. aho vata me anupādāya āsavehi cittaṃ vimucceyyā ti. atha khvassa*

[67] E^e has the footnote "S¹⁻³ khovassa".
[68] Kh^e reads *satippaṭṭhānānaṃ*.
[69] E^e abbreviates with *la*, B^e with *pa*, N^e & VRI^e with *pe*. Given in full in C^e, S^e & Kh^e.
[70] S^e omits *na*.
[71] Kh^e reads *satippaṭṭhānānaṃ*.
[72] N^e reads °*eyyuṃ ti*.
[73] B^e, S^e & VRI^e read *bhabbāva*.
[74] E^e has a misprint *kukkuṭapotakṭā*.
[75] E^e reads *va*.
[76] E^e footnote "S¹⁻³ tānassu", so in B^e, C^e, Kh^e, N^e, S^e & VRI^e.
[77] S^e reads °*ma*° for °*ṃ a*°.

anupādāya āsavehi cittaṃ vimuccati. taṃ kissa hetu. bhāvitattā tissa vacanīyaṃ. kissa bhāvitattā. bhāvitattā catunnaṃ satipaṭṭhānānaṃ [78] *, <u>bhāvitattā catunnaṃ sammappadhānānaṃ, bhāvitattā catunnaṃ iddhipādānaṃ, bhāvitattā pañcannaṃ indriyānaṃ, bhāvitattā pañcannaṃ balānaṃ, bhāvitattā sattannaṃ bojjhaṅgānaṃ,</u>* [79] *bhāvitattā ariyassa aṭṭhaṅgikassa maggassa.*

seyyathāpi, bhikkhave, palagaṇḍassa [80] *vā* [81] *palagaṇḍantevāsissa* [82] *vā vāsijaṭe dissante* [83] *aṅgulipadāni* [84] *dissanti* [85] *aṅguṭṭhapādā* [86]*. no ca khvassa evaṃ* [87] *ñāṇaṃ hoti. ettakaṃ vata* [88] *me* [89] *ajja vāsijaṭassa* [90] *khīṇaṃ, ettakaṃ hiyyo* [91]*, ettakaṃ pare ti. atha khvassa khīṇaṃ* [92] *khīṇante va* [93] *ñāṇaṃ hoti.* [94] *evam eva kho, bhikkhave, bhāvanānuyogaṃ* [95] *anuyuttassa bhikkhuno viharato kiñcāpi na evaṃ ñāṇaṃ hoti. ettakaṃ vata* [96] *me ajja āsavānaṃ khīṇaṃ, ettakaṃ hiyyo, ettakaṃ pare ti. atha khvassa khīṇe khīṇante va* [97] *ñāṇaṃ hoti.*

seyyathāpi, bhikkhave, samuddikāya [98] *nāvāya vettabandhanabaddhāya chammāsāni* [99] *udake pariyādāya* [100] *hemantike* [101] *thalaṃ ukkhittāya* [102] *vātātapaparetāni bandhanāni* [103]*. tāni*

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[78] Kh[e] reads *satippaṭṭhānānaṃ.*
[79] E[e] abbreviates with *la*, B[e] with *pa*, N[e] & VRI[e] with *pe*. Given in full in C[e], Kh[e] & S[e].
[80] E[e], Kh[e] & S[e] read *phalagaṇḍassa.*
[81] Kh[e] reads *vā na.*
[82] E[e], Kh[e] & S[e] read *phala°*. E[e] has inserted a misleading space *phalagaṇḍante vāsissa*. E[e] also has a footnote "So S[1–3]; B phalabhaṇḍa°".
[83] VRI[e] reads *dissanteva,* C[e], Kh[e] & S[e] read *dissante vā.*
[84] N[e] has the footnote "aṅgulipādāni — sī°".
[85] VRI[e] reads *dissati.*
[86] E[e] & C[e] have the footnote "B °padaṃ", so in B[e], N[e] & VRI[e]; C[e] reads *°padā.*
[87] N[e] has the footnote "evamassa — syā°", so in Kh[e] & S[e].
[88] N[e] has the footnote "vā — sī, syā°", so in Kh[e] & S[e]. C[e] has a footnote.
[89] E[e] has the footnote "B katame here only; S[1–3] vāme always".
[90] C[e] reads *vāsijaṭaṃ.*
[91] N[e] has the footnote "hīyyo — sī°", not so in S[e].
[92] VRI[e] reads *khīṇe,* N[e] reads in footnote: ". . . khīṇā. . . — sī°, syā°, ro°". So in Kh[e] & S[e].
[93] VRI[e] reads *khīṇantve;* C[e] & Kh[e] read *khīṇanteva.*
[94] B[e], N[e] omits "atha khvassa . . . ñāṇaṃ hoti."
[95] C[e], Kh[e] & S[e] have *°m=a°* for *°ṃ a°.*
[96] Kh[e] & S[e] read *vā.*
[97] B[e], N[e] & VRI[e] read *khīṇantveva;* Kh[e] reads *khīṇanteva,* C[e] reads *khīṇaṃtveva.*
[98] B[e], C[e], N[e] & VRI[e] read *sāmuddikāya.*
[99] E[e] has the footnote "B vassamāsāni", so in B[e], N[e] & VRI[e].
[100] E[e] has the footnote "S[1–3] pariyodātāya".
[101] E[e] has the footnote "B adds na", so in B[e], C[e], Kh[e], N[e], S[e] & VRI[e].

pāvussakena[104] *meghena abhippavaṭṭhāni*[105] *appakasireneva*[106] *paṭippassambhanti pūtikāni bhavanti.*[107] *evam eva kho, bhikkhave, bhāvanānuyogaṃ*[108] *anuyuttassa bhikkhuno viharato appakasireneva saññojanāni*[109] *paṭippassambhanti pūtikāni bhavantī ti.*

The Adze-handle sutta

Thus have I heard: at one time the Lord was dwelling in Sāvatthī, in the Jeta grove, in Anāthapiṇḍika's park. Then the Lord said to the monks: "monks," "Venerable one," the monks replied to the Lord. The Lord said this. "Monks, I say the destruction of the taints is for one who knows and sees, not for one who does not know and does not see. Further, monks, the destruction of the taints is for one who knows what, sees what? Such is form, such is the arising of form, such is the passing away of form. Such is feeling…, perception, volitional formations, consciousness, the arising of consciousness, such is the passing away of consciousness. Thus, monks, the destruction of the taints is for one who knows thus and sees thus."

"Monks, for a monk who dwells not engaged in meditation*,* moreover, the desire may arise thus, "Oh, that my mind may be liberated from the taints without attachment!" But his mind is not liberated from the taints without attachment. "For what reason?" It must be said, due to non-cultivation. Due to the non-cultivation of what? Due to the non-cultivation of the four foundations of mindfulness; due to the non-cultivation of the four right strivings; due to the non-cultivation of the four bases of supernatural power; due to the non-cultivation of the five mental faculties; due to the non-cultivation of the five powers; due to the non-cultivation of the seven factors of awakening; and due to the non-cultivation of the Noble Eightfold Path."

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[102] E^e has the footnote "B omits ya".
[103] B^e, Kh^e, N^e, S^e & VRI^e read *vettabandhanāni.*
[104] B^e, N^e & VRI^e read *pāvusakena.*
[105] E^e has the footnote "B °ppavuṭṭhāni", so in B^e, Kh^e, N^e, S^e & VRI^e.
[106] C^e reads *appakasirena.*
[107] Kh^e reads *bhavantī ti.*
[108] C^e, Kh^e & S^e have °*m=a*° for °*ṃ a*°.
[109] N^e reads *saṃyojanāni.*

[It is] just as if, monks, a hen might have eight, ten, or twelve eggs. [And suppose] these eggs were not properly sat upon by the hen, were not properly incubated, were not properly nurtured. Moreover, the desire of this hen may arise thus, "Oh, that my chicks may break the eggshell using the point of a claw or [their] beak and hatch safely." But those chicks are unable to break the eggshell using the point of a claw or [their] beak and hatch safely. For what reason? Because, monks, those eight, ten or twelve eggs of the hen were not properly sat upon, were not properly incubated, were not properly nurtured. Precisely in this way, monks, for a monk who dwells not engaged in meditation, moreover, the desire may arise thus, "Oh, that my mind may be liberated from the taints without attachment!" But his mind is not liberated from the taints without attachment. For what reason? It is to be said, "Due to its non-cultivation." Due to the non-cultivation of what? Due to the non-cultivation of the four foundations of mindfulness; due to the non-cultivation of the four right strivings; due to the non-cultivation of the four bases of supernatural power; due to the non-cultivation of the five mental faculties; due to the non-cultivation of the five powers; due to the non-cultivation of the seven factors of awakening; and due to the non-cultivation of the Noble Eightfold Path.

Monks, for a monk who dwells engaged in meditation, moreover, the desire may not arise thus, "Oh, that my mind may be liberated from the taints without attachment!" And yet his mind is liberated from the taints without attachment. For what reason? It must be said, "Due to its cultivation." Due to the cultivation of what? Due to the cultivation of the four foundations of mindfulness; due to the cultivation of the four right strivings; due to the cultivation of the four bases of supernatural power; due to the cultivation of the five mental faculties; due to the cultivation of the five powers; due to the cultivation of the seven factors of awakening; and due to the cultivation of the Noble Eightfold Path.

[It is] just as if, monks, a hen might have eight, ten, or twelve eggs. [And suppose] these eggs were properly sat upon by the hen, were properly incubated, were properly nurtured. Moreover, the desire of this hen might not arise thus, "Oh, that my chicks may break the eggshell using the point of a claw or [their] beak and hatch safely." Then those chicks are able to break the eggshell using the point of a claw or [their] beak and hatch safely. For what

reason? Because, monks, those eight, ten or twelve eggs of the hen were properly sat upon, were properly incubated, were properly nurtured.

Precisely in this way, monks, for a monk who dwells engaged in meditation, moreover, the desire may not arise thus, "Oh, that my mind may be liberated from the taints without attachment!" Then his mind is liberated from the taints without attachment. For what reason? It must be said, "Due to cultivation." Due to the cultivation of what? Due to the cultivation of the four foundations of mindfulness; due to the cultivation of the four right strivings; due to the cultivation of the four bases of supernatural power; due to the cultivation of the five mental faculties; due to the cultivation of the five powers; due to the cultivation of the seven factors of awakening; and due to the cultivation of the Noble Eightfold Path.

[It is] just as if, monks, finger and thumb impressions are seen on a carpenter's or an apprentice carpenter's adze-handle. Indeed, he does not know: "Oh, so much of the adze handle was worn away by me today, so much yesterday, so much the day before." But then, when it is worn away, he knows that it is worn away. Precisely in this way, monks, a monk who dwells engaged in meditation, moreover, does not know: "Oh, so much of the taints was destroyed by me today, so much yesterday, so much the day before." But then, when they are destroyed, he knows that they are destroyed.

[It is] just as if, monks, the rigging of a seafaring ship, bound with rigging, which has been six months in the water and lifted onto the land for the winter is completely overcome by the wind and sun. They, being rained on by a rain cloud, would easily disintegrate and rot. Precisely in this way, Monks, for a monk who dwells engaged in meditation, the fetters easily disintegrate and rot away.

APPENDIX B
The Chinese Parallels to the Gāndhārī Sūtras

The following edition of the Chinese parallels to the Gāndhārī sūtras is based on the Taishō edition (T). The text has been compared with the Korean (K), Zhōnghuá (Z), and Fángshān (F) editions of the Chinese canon. The reading has also been compared with Yìnshùn 1983. The punctuation given here largely follows this version.

The Qílín 祇林 sūtra (T 2 no. 99 70b1–c1 [sūtra 269])[1]

如是我聞一時，佛住舍衛國祇樹給孤獨園。爾[2]時、世尊告諸比丘：非汝所應法，當盡捨離。捨彼法已，長夜安樂。比丘，何等法非汝所應，當速捨離？如是色、受、想、行、識，非汝所應，當盡捨離。斷[3]彼法已，長夜安樂。

譬如祇桓林中樹木，有人斫伐枝條，擔持而去。汝等亦不憂感，所以者何？以彼樹木非我、非我所。

如是比丘，非汝所應者當盡捨離。捨離已，長夜安樂。何等非汝所應？色非汝所應，當盡捨離。捨離已，長夜安樂。如是受、想、行、識，非汝所應，當速捨離。捨彼法已，長夜安樂。

諸比丘，色為常耶、為無常耶？諸比丘白佛言：無常，世尊。比丘，無常者為是苦耶？答言：是苦，世尊。佛告比丘：若無常、苦，是變易法。多聞聖弟子，寧於中見有我，異我，相在不？答言：不也，世尊。如是受、想、行、識為是常耶、無常耶？答言：無常，世尊。比丘，若無常者是苦耶？答言：是苦，世尊。佛告比丘：若無常、苦，是變易法。多聞聖弟子，寧於中見有我，異我，相在不？答言：不也，世尊。

比丘，是故諸所有色，若過去、若未來[4]、若現在，若內、若外，若麤、若細，若好、若醜，若遠、若近，彼一切非我，不異我，不相在。如是受、想、行、識，若過去、若未

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[1] Other editions consulted: K 18 no. 650 804a15–c2; F 23 102b14–103a14; Z 32 no. 700 738b15–739a2; Yìnshùn 1983: 75–6.

[2] K, F, Z read 尒.

[3] F reads 断.

[4] Here and following, K has the variant 来.

來、若現在，若內、若外，若麤、若細，若好、若醜，若遠、若近，彼一切非我，不異我，不相在。

聖弟子觀此五受陰，非我[5]、我所。如是觀時，於諸世間無所取著，無所取著者自得涅槃[6]：我生已盡，梵行已立，所作已作，自知不受後有。佛説此經已，時諸比丘聞佛所説，歡喜奉行。

The Jeta-grove sutra

Thus I have heard at one time, the Buddha was dwelling in Śrāvastī in the Jetavana, Anāthapiṇḍika's grove. At that time the Blessed one said to the monks: "As for that dharma that is 'not yours,' you should completely abandon it. When that dharma has been renounced, it will be for [your] peace and happiness for a long time. Monks, what are the dharmas which are 'not yours,' which you should quickly abandon? They are as follows: form, feeling, conception, conditioned forces, perceptual consciousness. [They] are 'not yours,' you should completely abandon them. When that dharma has been stopped, is will be for [your] peace and happiness for a long time.

For example, the trees in the Jeta-grove, [suppose] some person chopped and cut the branches and twigs, and picked them up and carried them away. You would not grieve and be sad. Why not? Because those trees are not 'me,' not 'mine.'

Similarly, monks, what is 'not yours,' you should completely abandon that. When it is completely abandoned, is will be for [your] peace and happiness for a long time. What is it that is 'not yours'? Form is 'not yours,' you should completely abandon it. When it has been abandoned, is will be for [your] peace and happiness for a long time. In this way: feeling; conception; conditioned forces; perceptual consciousness are 'not yours.' You should quickly abandon them. When those dharmas have been renounced, is will be for [your] peace and happiness for a long time."

"Monks, is form permanent or impermanent?" The monks, recited the Buddha's words. "Impermanent, Blessed one."

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[5] 宋, 元, and 明 read 我 + (非) (T 2 p. 70 n. 5).
[6] F reads 盤.

"Monks, is what is impermanent, suffering?" The reply, "It is suffering, Blessed one."

The Buddha said to the monks, "If it is impermanent, it is suffering; this is the law of change. Does a learned noble disciple, with regard to what is inside, see there is a self, a self [subject to] change, or neither?" The reply, "no, Blessed one."

"In this way, are feeling; conception; conditioned forces; perceptual consciousness permanent or impermanent?" The reply, "impermanent, Blessed one."

"Monks, so, what is impermanent, is this suffering?" The reply, "It is suffering, Blessed one."

The Buddha said to the monks, "If it is impermanent, it is suffering, this is the law of change. Does a learned noble disciple, with regard to what is inside, see there is a self, a self [subject to] change, or neither?" The reply, "no, Blessed one."

"Monks, therefore, whatever has form, what is past, future, or present, what is inside or outside, what is coarse or fine, what is good or ugly, what is far or near, all these are not-self, nor a self [subject to] change, neither. In this way, feeling; conception; conditioned forces; perceptual consciousness: what is past, future, or present, what is inside or outside, what is coarse or fine, what is good or ugly, what is far or near, all these are not-self, nor a self [subject to] change, neither.

The noble disciple who contemplates these five aggregates as 'not I or mine', when he contemplates in this way towards the whole world, he lacks grasping. One who lacks grasping, attains nirvana himself, thinking, "My life has been extinguished. The pure life is established. What is to be done, has been done. He knows for himself, there is no further existence."" When the Buddha finished speaking this sūtra, all the monks heard what the Buddha said, then they rejoiced and accepted it.

The Xìn 信 sūtra (T 2 no. 99 12a18–26 [sūtra 48])[7]

如是我聞一時，佛住舍衛國祇樹給孤獨園。爾[8]時、世尊告諸比丘：信心善男子正信非家出家，自念：我應隨順法，於色當多修厭住，於受、想、行、識多修厭住。

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[7] Other editions consulted: K 18 no. 650 722c21–723a7; F 23 17a26–b5; Z 32 no. 700 631c21–632a7; Yìnshùn 1983: 161.

信心善男子正信非家出家，於色多修厭住，於受、想、行、識多修厭住已，於色得離，於受、想、行、識得離。

我[9]説是等：悉離一切生、老、病、死、憂、悲、惱、苦[10]。佛説此經已。諸比丘聞佛所説。歡喜奉行

The Faith sutra

Thus I have heard at one time, the Buddha was dwelling in Śrāvastī in the Jeta grove, Anāthapiṇḍika's grove. At that time the Blessed One said to the monks. The son of a noble family with a faithful mind, who goes from the home to homelessness with correct faith thinks to himself, "I should dwell in accordance with the dharma, cultivating much disgust with reference to form; [should] dwell cultivating much disgust with reference to feeling; conception; conditioned forces; and perceptual consciousness."

The son of a noble family with a faithful mind, who has gone from the home to homelessness with correct faith when he dwells with correct faith cultivating much disgust with reference to form; he dwells cultivating much disgust with reference to feeling; conception; conditioned forces; and perceptual consciousness, he obtains release with reference to form; he obtains release with reference to feeling; conception; conditioned forces; and perceptual consciousness.

I say this: he is completely released from birth, old age, sickness, death, grief, sadness, despair, and suffering. When the Buddha finished speaking this sūtra, all the monks heard what the Buddha said, then they rejoiced and accepted it.

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[8] K, F, Z read 尒.

[9] Z reads 於.

[10] The Taishō edition does not punctuate between 惱 and 苦, but continuing the pattern of punctuation here makes for a better complement to the Pali and Gāndhārī versions.

The Yìngshuō 應説 sūtra (T 2 no. 99 67a21–c3 [sūtra 263])[11]

如是我聞一時，佛住拘留國雜色牧牛聚落。爾[12]時、佛告諸比丘：我以知見故得諸漏盡，非不知見。云何以知見故得諸漏盡，非不知見？謂此色，此色集，此色滅。此受、想、行、識，此識集，此識滅。

不修方便隨順成就，而用心求令[13]我諸漏盡、心得解脱，當知彼比丘終不能得漏盡解脱。所以者何？不修習故。不修習[14]何等？謂不修習念處、正勤、如意足、根、力、覺、道。

譬如伏鷄，生子衆多，不能隨時蔭餾[15]，消息冷暖，而欲令子以觜、以爪啄卵自生，安隱出觳，當知彼子無有自力，堪能方便以觜，以爪安隱出觳。所以者何？以彼雞母不能隨時蔭餾冷暖，長養子故。

如是，比丘不勤修習隨順成就，而欲令得漏盡解脱，無有是處。所以者何？不修習故。不修何等？謂不修念處、正勤、如意足、根、力、覺、道。

若比丘修習隨順成就者，雖不欲令漏盡解脱，而彼比丘自然漏盡，心得解脱。所以者何？以修習故。何所修習？謂修念處、正勤、如意足、根、力、覺、道。

如彼伏雞[16]，善養其子，隨時蔭餾，冷暖得所，正[17]復不欲令子方便自啄卵出，然其諸子自能方便安隱出觳。所以者何？以彼伏雞隨時蔭餾，冷暖得所故。如是比丘善修方便，正[18]復不欲漏盡解脱，而彼比丘自然漏盡，心得解脱。所以者何？以勤修習故。何所修習？謂修念處、正勤、如意足、根、力、覺、道。

譬如巧師、巧師弟子，手執斧柯，捉之不已，漸漸微盡，手指處現，然彼不覺斧柯微盡而盡處現。如是比丘精勤修習，隨順成就，不自知見今日爾所漏盡，明日爾所漏盡，然

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[11] Other editions consulted: K 18 no. 650 799c15–800b13; F 23 98a8–b17; Z 32 no. 700 734a15–c13; Yìnshùn 1983: 58–9.

[12] K reads 尒.

[13] 宋 reads 今 (T 2 p. 67 n. 8).

[14] 宋, 元, and 明 om. 習 (T 2 p. 67 n. 9).

[15] Here and following, 宋 reads 留; 元 and 明 read 鷚 (T 2 p. 67 n. 10); Yìnshùn has emended to 卵 (1983: 58).

[16] Yìnshùn has the variant 鷄.

[17] 宋 reads 政 (T2 p. 67 n. 11).

[18] 宋 reads 政 (T2 p. 67 n. 11*).

彼比丘知有漏盡。所以者何？以修習故。何所修習？謂修習念處、正勤、如意足、根、力、覺、道。

　譬如大舶，在於海邊，經夏六月，風飄，日暴。藤綴漸斷。如是比丘精勤修習，隨順成就，一切結、縛、使、煩惱、纏，漸得解脱。所以者何？善修習故。何所修習？謂修習念處、正勤、如意足、根、力、覺、道。説是法時，六十比丘不起諸漏，心得解脱。佛説此經已，諸比丘聞佛所説，歡喜奉行。

The "To be said" sutra

Thus I have heard at one time, the Buddha was dwelling in the Kuru country, at the *Citragopāla[19] settlement. At that time the Buddha said to the monks. "Because I know and see, [I have] obtained the destruction of the taints, [I am] not one who does not know and see." They said, "How is it that by knowing and seeing one obtains the destruction of the taints, not one who does not know and see?" That is to say "this is form, this is the arising of form, this is the cessation of form. This is feeling; perception; conditioned forces; perceptual consciousness, this is the arising of perceptual consciousness, this is the cessation of perceptual consciousness."

[If there is one] not cultivating the method in accordance with accomplishment, [his] mind [may] have the desire: "may I destroy taints and may my mind be liberated;" [you] should know that, in the end, that monk is not able to obtain the destruction of the taints and be liberated. Why is this? Because of not cultivating. Not cultivating what? That is to say, not cultivating the foundations of mindfulness, the right strivings, the bases of supernatural power, the spiritual faculties, the powers, the awakening, [and] the path.

For example, a brooding hen lays numerous eggs. She is not able to shelter and incubate [them] at the right time, the temperature fluctuates, then the desire [may arise thus], "May [my] chicks, with [their] beaks, with [their] claws peck at the egg to hatch themselves and come out of their eggshells safely." [You] should know those chicks lack their own power, ability and method by means of [their] beaks, by means of [their] claws to come out of their

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[19] For comment see § 2.2.4.1.

egg shells safely. Why is this? Because the mother hen could not shelter and incubate [them] at the right time, with changing temperature, nor nurture [her] eggs.

Similarly, a monk who is diligently cultivating in accordance with accomplishment and yet desiring "may [I] obtain the destruction of the taints and be liberated," he lacks this condition. Why is this? Because of not cultivating. That is to say, not cultivating the foundations of mindfulness, the right strivings, the bases of supernatural power, the spiritual faculties, the powers, the awakening, [and] the path.

If a monk who is cultivating in accordance with accomplishment, although he does not have the desire "may [I] obtain the destruction of the taints and be liberated," still that monk destroys the taints himself and his mind obtains liberation. Why is this? Because of cultivating. Cultivating what? That is to say, cultivating the foundations of mindfulness, the right strivings, the bases of supernatural power, the spiritual faculties, the powers, the awakening, [and] the path.

If that brooding hen properly nurtures her chicks; shelters and incubates them at the right time, in a place having the [correct] temperature, again, she does not desire: "May [my] chicks, by this method, peck at the egg and come out by themselves." Certainly, her chicks are able, by this method, to come out of their eggshells safely by themselves. Why is this? Because this brooding hen sheltered and incubated [them] at the right time and the [correct] temperature was obtained.

Therefore, in this way, a monk who properly cultivates the method correctly again, does not desire the destruction of the taints and becoming liberated. Yet, that monk does himself destroy the taints and his mind obtains liberation. Why is this? Because of engaging in cultivation. What cultivation? That is to say, cultivating the foundations of mindfulness, the right strivings, the bases of supernatural power, the spiritual faculties, the powers, the awakening, the path.

For example, a skilled master, or skilled master's apprentice, [his] hand holding the adze handle, being grasped constantly, gradually tiny impressions of [his] fingers appear. Although not aware [that he makes] tiny impressions [on] the adze handle, still the

impressions appear. In this way, a monk who is engaged in the pure cultivating in accordance with achievement does not, himself, know and see, today the destruction of the taints is such; tomorrow (but P *hiyyo*) the destruction of the taints is such. Nevertheless this monk is aware of the destruction of the taints. Why is this? Because of cultivating. Cultivating what? That is to say, cultivating the foundations of mindfulness, the right strivings, the bases of supernatural power, the spiritual faculties, the powers, the awakening, [and] the path.

For example, a big ship on the seashore, passes six months in the summer, fluttering in the wind and drying in the sun, the rigging gradually decays. In this way, a monk who is diligently cultivating in accordance with accomplishment, gradually obtains liberation from all [his] bonds, proclivities, afflictions, and worries. Why is this? Because of cultivating well. Cultivating what? That is to say, cultivating the foundations of mindfulness, the right strivings, the bases of supernatural power, the spiritual faculties, the powers, the awakening, [and] the path. When this teaching was spoken, sixty monks did not give rise to the taints and their minds obtained liberation. When the Buddha finished speaking this sūtra, all the monks heard what the Buddha said, then they rejoiced and accepted it.

APPENDIX C
The Tibetan Parallels to the Gāndhārī Sūtras

The following Tibetan parallels to the Gāndhārī sūtras are based on the Derge edition (D).
The first excerpt is preserved in the Kanjur. The reading has been compared with the London
(L), Peking (Q), and Stog Palace (S) editions. The second excerpt occurs as a quotation
within the Śamathadeva's Upāyikaṭīkā. As such, it occurs in the the Tanjur. The reading has
been compared with the Peking edition (Q) as well as the new printed edition from Běijīng
(B). References to readings from the Narthang Tanjur (N), which was not accessible to me,
are cited from the notes in this new printed version.

Excerpt from the Giriānanda-sutta *Ri'i kun dga' bo'i mdo* (D no. 38, *sher phyin, shes rab sna
tshogs, ka* 277a1–4)[1]

*kun dga' bo mi gtsang ba'i[2] 'du shes ni dge slong kun dga' bo 'di ni | lus 'di nyid la spyi
gtsug nas 'og gi rkang mthil[3] gyi bar gyi | lpags[4] pa'i phyi shun gyi bar gang bar rnam pa sna
tshogs pa'i mi gtsang ba so sor brtag par bya'o ‖ lus 'di la skra dang | ba spu dang | sen mo
dang | so dang | lpags[5] pa'i phyi shun dang | sha dang | chu ba dang | rus pa dang | rkang mar
dang | mkhal ma dang | snying dang | mcher[6] pa dang | glo ba dang | sul mang[7] dang | pho ba
dang | rgyu ma dang | rgyu ma'i gnye ma dang | lgang[8] pa dang | rtug pa dang | mkhris pa
dang | bad kan dang | tshigs dang | khrag dang | rngul dang | tshil dang | mchi[9] ma dang | zhag
dang | mchil ma dang | snabs dang | chu ser dang | gcin dang | glad pa ste | mi gstang ba'i[10]*

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[1] Other editions consulted: L no. 211 *mdo, chi* 133a2–7; Q 21 no. 754, 303d4–8 (*tsi* 293b4–8); S 87 no.
296 *mdo, chi* 144a6–b4; S *mdo, chi* 144a6–b4.
[2] L *pa'i.*
[3] L *'thil.*
[4] D *pags.*
[5] D *pags.*
[6] Q *mtsher.*
[7] Q *mangs.*
[8] L *lgad pa.*
[9] Q *ma chi.*
[10] L *pa'i.*

rdzas sum cu[11] *rtsa gnyis so*[12] | *lus 'di la mi gtsang bar*[13] *blta*[14] *bar bya'o* | *kun dga' bo mi gtsang ba*[15] *'di rnams bstan par gyis shig* ‖

Excerpt from the Girimānanda-sutta

"Ānanda, as for the perception of foulness: a monk, Ānanda, should examine this very body, downwards from the tip of the hair until the sole of the foot, with a covering of skin, full of impurity of various kinds. There is in this body: head hair, body hair, nails, teeth, a covering of skin, flesh, sinews, bones, bone marrow, kidney, heart, liver, pleura, spleen, lungs, small intestine, large instestine, stomach, fecal matter, bile, phlegm, pus, blood, sweat, fat, tear fluid, grease, saliva, snot, fluid of the joints, urine, and the head—thirty-two impure things. He should contemplate the foulness in this body. Ānanda, you should teach the perception of foulness."

Quotation of the Nātumhaka-sutta in the *Abhidharmakośaṭīkopāyikanāma/Chos mngon pa'i mdsod kyi 'grel bshad nye bar mkho ba shes bya ba* (D 4094 mngon pa, ju 21b5–22a6)[16] Śamathadeva's main text, which interrupts the quotation, is given in smaller type.

dge slong gang khyod ma yin pa'i chos de khyod kyis spang bar bya'o ‖ *don te*[17] *khyod kyis spangs nas*[18] *yun ring po'i don dang* | *phan pa dang* | *bde bar 'gyur ro* ‖ *gsol ba* | *bcom ldan 'das 'tshal lo* ‖ *bde bar gshegs pa 'tshal lo* ‖ *bka' stsal ba* | *dge slong khyod kyis ji ltar ngas mdor bsdus te rnam par ma phye bar bshad pa ji ltar shes* | *gsol ba* btsun pa gzugs bdag ma lags te | chos de spangs *na*[19] *yun ring po'i don dang phan pa dang* | *bde bar 'gyur ro*[20] ‖ tshor ba dang | 'du shes dang | 'du byed dang | rnam par shes pa bdag ma lags te | chos de spangs na yun ring po'i don

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[11] Q *bcu*.

[12] L *gnyiso*.

[13] L *par*.

[14] Q *lta.*

[15] L *pa.*

[16] Other editions consulted: B 82 49.3–51.20; Q 118 no. 5595, 107d1–108a1 (tu 23b1–24b1).

[17] Q, N *de*.

[18] D, Q *na*.

[19] B, D *nas*.

[20] Q *'gyuro.*

dang phan pa dang | bde bar 'gyur ro[21] *‖ btsun pa bcom ldan 'das 'di ltar bdag gis mdor bsdus shing rnam par phye bar bshad pa'i don rgyas par 'tshal lo ‖ dge slong legs so legs so ‖ dge slong ngas mdor bsdus te rnam par ma phye bar bshad pa'i don shes pa legs so | de ci'i phyir zhe na | dge slong gzugs bdag ma yin te chos de khyod kyis spang bar bya'o ‖ chos de khyod kyis spangs na yun ring po'i don dang phan pa dang bde bar 'gyur ro ‖ tshor ba dang | 'du shes dang 'du byed dang | rnam par shes pa bdag ma yin te | chos de khyod kyis spang bar bya'o ‖ chos de khyod kyis spangs na yun ring po'i don dang phan pa dang bde bar 'gyur ro ‖*

Quotation of the "Not yours" sutta

Monks, what is not yours, you should abandon that dharma. When you have abandoned that thing, there will be advantage, benefit, and happiness for a long time. …Venerable one, since form is not one's own, when [one] has abandoned that dharma, there will be advantage, benefit, and happiness for a long time. Since feeling; perception; conditioned forces; perceptual consciousness are not one's own, when [one] has abandoned those dharmas, there will be advantage, benefit, and happiness for a long time. … Monks, form is not yours, you should abandon that dharma. When you have abandoned that dharma, there will be advantage, benefit, and happiness for a long time. Since feeling; perception; conditioned forces; perceptual consciousness are not one's own, you should abandon those dharmas. When you have abandoned those dharmas, there will be advantage, benefit, and happiness for a long time.

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[21] Q *'gyuro.*

VITA

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Conference Papers and Lectures:
- "Four Gāndhārī Sūtras on Meditation" 14th Conference of the International Association of Buddhist Studies, London, August 29–September 3rd 2005.
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